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ABSTRACT

In 1969 the American Political Science Association created a Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession to recommend ways of enhancing the professional position of women and of encouraging women to enter the field of political science. Several special studies undertaken by the Committee from 1969 through 1971 reveal the disadvantage of women in recruitment and professional activities. This document presents the interim, progress, and final reports of the Committee and includes essays on the status of women as students and professionals in political science, some comparative statistics on women in political science and other social sciences, and the prospects women have for professional advancement in political science. A selected bibliography on the status of women in political science is included. (HS)

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WOMEN IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee
on the Status of Women in the Profession

1969-71

American Political Science Association
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Washington, D.C. 20036

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PREFACE

As a part of its work during the last two years, the Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession has produced a number of reports and studies. Some of the pieces appearing in this document have appeared in PS, the Association's quarterly news journal; two articles are previously unpublished. It is our hope that members of the political science profession and others interested in enhancing the status of professional women and encouraging women to enter political science and other professions will find Women in Political Science useful and valuable.

On behalf of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, I wish to thank the Council of the Association for its assistance to the Committee and for its support of the publication of this document. My appreciation also goes to the Committee and to Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Mae C. King, and Joyce I. Horn of the Association's staff. In addition, many other people in government, universities and colleges, as well as in other professional associations assisted with these endeavors. We thank them all.

Josephine F. Milburn
Chairman
Committee on the Status of
Women in the Profession

August 1971

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
IN THE PROFESSION

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Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

Introduction

The systematic study and teaching of politics and the pursuit of careers in public service arising from an education in political science are honorable endeavors, ones to which American citizens, regardless of race or sex, should be attracted. At the same time, it has become apparent to many that women, among other groups, find themselves disadvantaged in becoming political scientists and having careers in the public service commensurate with their abilities and aspirations. To the end of reversing this situation, the American Political Science Association created in 1969 a Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession to recommend ways of enhancing the professional position of women and of encouraging women to enter the profession. The Committee is preparing a report at a time when political science departments are conducting extensive reviews of program and career potentials for students of political science and professional colleagues. New programs now emerging in many departments lead to various career possibilities and appear to coincide with the Committee's efforts to encourage the establishment of a broad range of opportunities for women.

Several special studies undertaken by the Committee in 1969-1971 reveal the disadvantage of women in recruitment and professional activities. Victoria Schuck reviews the position of women in political science (PS, Fall 1969, pp. 642-643) and notes the higher ratio of women in lower untenured ranks and in small departments. In her second article, "Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and other Social Sciences" (PS, Summer 1970, pp. 357-361), she notes that growth rates are up for women in political science through the average number receiving Ph.D.'s is lowest in any of the social sciences except for Economics. The proportion of women to men is exceedingly small. Women are under represented in the professional activities of the Association, according to her third section, "Femina Studens Rei Publicae; Notes on Her Professional Achievements" (PS, Spring 1970, pp. 622-629), whether in numbers of publications, offices held or program participation.

Committee Studies *

Substantial assistance to the Committee's work are the reports on recruitment procedures and biographical materials. Peter Bachrach gives a sub-committee's recruitment recommendation in "A Proposal to Extend and Strengthen the Personnel Service of APSA." A selected bibliography on the status of women in the profession is presented by Katherine M. Klotzburger.

In an analysis of the mail survey of women oriented to the political science profession, published in this issue of PS, (sent to 3,000 women and 400 men) Philip E. and Jean M. Converse indicate that women in political science are seldom selected for administrative positions and have in the past been slower to produce published works, and their findings indicate that better recruitment procedures are necessary at each entry point to the profession. Men perceive more discrimination, according to the Converse, because they are serving on the committees which consider appointments for graduate study and professional positions, offer awards for graduate study or research, and make decisions on promotions. In another analysis of the mail survey, Jewel Prestage and James Prothro set in order of priority some solutions to preceived problems [Notes on Solutions to Problems Faced by Women in Political Sciences (from male and female respondents)]. In "Non-Academic Professional Political Scientists," Irene Tinker reviews the survey given to 150 women in public administration. In a report on interviews with a panel of political science department chairmen, Susan Rudolph and Warren Ilchman indicate the need for improved recruitment practices. Joyce M. Mitchell and Rachel R. Starr, in "Aspirations, Achievement and Professional Advancement in Political Science:

* A number of Women's Committee studies as well as its reports are available in a document, "Women in Political Science: Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, 1969-71." The document costs $2.00 prepaid (include additional 15¢ for postage) and may be secured by writing the Association. Copies will also be available for purchase at the Annual Meeting for two dollars. Copies of studies not published in the document may be purchased from the national office at 10¢ a page.

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Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

The Prospect for Women in the West," examined recruitment and career patterns for women completing graduate school in the West. The national survey findings that men are more aware of discrimination against women than are women political scientists is confirmed. A distinct regional difference in the socio-economic circumstances for women political scientists is also revealed in the western analysis. These women have greater upward mobility than their national counterparts, more similar to men in the national samples.

In summary then, women in political science are similar to women in other professions. At the present time they are usually found among the lower ranks and salaries of members of the profession. Recruitment procedures at each threshold of the profession present stumbling blocks to women. After entering the profession, they more often are in small academic institutions with heavy teaching demands. Their location may help to explain their slow rate of publication.

Recommendations and Committee Activities, 1969-71

The Committee on the Status of Women did not confine its responsibilities to fact-finding. In addition the Committee and Council have already and will make herein several recommendations to the Association for correction and redress of the present situation.

Our resolutions and activities fall into three categories: Socialization and Recruitment, Professional Education, and Career Entry and Advancement. Below is a brief summary of our recommendations in each of these categories. A more detailed discussion of the Committee's activities follows this summary.

On recruitment and socialization we support: active recruitment of women into the profession until a reasonable parity exists, search for research funds and support of programs on women, provisions for child care at the Annual Meetings, appropriate advising systems and curricula for encouraging women to enter the profession, and provisions for the distribution of the Committee's report (1969-1971).

On professional education we support: the Association's disapproval of discrimination against women in admissions for study, awarding financial support, academic employment and consideration for promotion, search for funds by the Association from outside sources to establish a Women's Graduate student fellowship program, appropriate advising systems and curricula for encouraging women to enter the profession, and part-time study and scholarship support.

On career entry and advancement, we support: active participation of women in affairs of the Association, abolition of nepotism rules, part-time employment on a profession basis, search for research funds and support of programs on women, search for funds by the Association to provide for legal counsel, increased number of women in decision-making and administrative positions, improvements in recruitment and placement practices, support of part-time study, and maintenance of a list of women and their resumés for use in appointment.

Among specific recommendations relating directly to Association activities we support: active participation of women in the Association's affairs, provisions for members to organize on problems of women in the profession, search for funds to provide legal counsel, provisions for child care at the Annual Meetings, the continuation of a committee on the Status of Women and provisions for a staff member at the National Office to handle problems of discrimination and to implement suggested programs, a continuing associational relationship with regional associations to implement recommendations and to establish recruitment procedures to encourage women in the profession, maintenance of a list of women and their resumés for appointments, and provision for distribution of the Committee's report (1969-1971).

This Report presents the final recommendations of the Committee in sequential order as adopted over the past two years. Throughout its term the Committee has submitted recommendations to the Council for Association action, and has reviewed proposed resolutions brought by the membership for suggested Council action. In addition the Committee has sought to implement all resolutions approved in the Annual Business Meetings.

In 1969 the Committee sponsored, with the Council's recommendation for approval, three resolutions (PS, Summer 1970, p. 354) which were adopted at the Business Meeting in New York:

1. Active recruitment of women into the profession especially in scholarship and fellowship programs

in which the Association participates.

The Committee has continued to bring this to the attention of the Presidents and Executive Director of the Association.

2. Active participation of women in the affairs of the Association through officeholding, committee membership, and program participation.

Each year the Committee has sent to officers and committees letters including a reminder of this resolution together with lists of women. The Committee makes suggestions in 1971 for a data bank on women members (see 1971, Item 4).

3. Continuation of programs to encourage women to enter the profession in order to achieve some reasonable parity between men and the women in the profession.

All actions of the Committee have been designed to contribute to the implementation of this resolution.

The Committee also sought to implement resolutions (*PS*, Summer 1970, p. 354) presented by the Women's Caucus and individual members, and adopted by the 1969 Annual Business Meeting:

4. Provisions for generous facilities allowing members to organize on problems of women political scientists.

Generous facilities was interpreted at the business meeting to mean room and services among other provisions for meeting at the Annual Meetings.

In January 1970, the Committee recognized the Women's Caucus as an organization sharing in the functions described in this section.

5. Disapproval by the Association of discrimination against women in admissions for study, in awards for financial support, in academic employment and promotion; approval of the publication of information about specific instances of such discrimination.

The Committee on several occasions invited members to furnish information about specific instances of discrimination to the Executive Director.

The Association made an agreement in Spring 1970 with AAUP to investigate and handle cases of alleged discrimination.

Information about employment practices in colleges and universities was obtained in a questionnaire in Spring 1969 and was analyzed in an article by V. Schuck (*PS*, Fall 1970, pp. 642-643). Also see the Converses', Tinker's, and Mitchell and Starr's reports.

Other Sponsored Resolutions (*PS*, Summer 1970, p. 354)

6. Refusal by the Association to use the facilities of a hotel that discriminates against women.

The Executive Director is responsible for informing hotels of this resolution.

In 1970 the Committee and Council sponsored two resolutions (*PS*, Winter, 1971, p. 76) which were accepted at the Business Meeting at Los Angeles:

1. A recommendation to institutions employing political scientists to abolish anti-nepotism rules whether they apply departmentally or on a college, or university wide basis.

The Committee and Council acknowledged in their presentation of the resolution that universities and colleges may wish to formulate conflict of interests rules. They would serve the legitimate functions that nepotism rules have served to assure that no departmental or cross-divisional officer is in a position to act upon the appointment, promotion, or prerequisites of his/her spouse.

The resolution was passed with an amendment instructing the Committee and Council to find means for implementing a requirement that no department with such rules be allowed to use the placement service of the Association.

The Committee and the Executive Director discussed with the AAUP and the other social science professional associations joint efforts to assist in the implementation of this resolution. The Committee regards collaboration among several sections of an educational institution as a feasible approach towards elimination of these rules.

The Committee requested that *PS* (Winter 1971, p. 76) publicize the resolution, and that the Executive Director inform the Chairman of Departments.

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Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Final Report and Recommendations

The Committee through the National Office obtained from the American Association of University Women its survey and reports on institutions with nepotism rules.

The Committee's suggestions concerning the use of placement services follows in the 1971 section.

2. Provisions for part-time employment on a professional basis to enable women under existing societal customs, including family responsibilities, to undertake professional activities.

The Committee informed the membership of this resolution through *PS* (Winter 1971, p. 76) and requested the Executive Director to notify Department Chairmen.

The Committee attempted to implement other resolutions *(PS,* Winter 1971, pp. 63-66) presented by Women's Caucus and individual members and adopted by the 1970 Annual Business Meeting:

3. A search for research funds and for support of academic programs on women.

The Committee established in 1971 a sub-committee to continue its preliminary investigations of such funding in 1969, until the Successor Committee is established to carry those investigations forward.

The Executive Director with support of the President and the Committee has had preliminary discussions with the SSRC urging the establishment of a special interdisciplinary committee on the socialization of women. He has gained the support of the other social science professional associations for this proposal.

4. A search for funds by the Association from outside sources to establish a Women's Graduate Student Fellowship Program.

The Committee generally agrees with this proposal and has included this directive in its charge to its sub-committee on search for research funding. The Successor Committee should oversee this search.

5. A search for funds by the Association to provide for legal counsel for those members who wish to file charges of discrimination on the basis of sex with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. The Council is to determine the manner and amount of the outlay.

In 1970 the Committee requested members to send notification of specific instances in which such funds would be necessary so that recommendations could be made to the Council about the amount necessary for complying with this search for funds.

As of May 1971, no specific instances have been brought to the Committee for implementation, even though several personal inquiries about procedures have been received.

The Successor Committee should therefore forward this investigation to make recommendations to the *Council about the* amount of the outlay necessary so that the Council could then proceed with a search for funds.

At this time, specific funding may not be necessary, as the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the AAUP will investigate and bring charges, when appropriate.

Resolution (PS, Winter 1971, p. 66) referred by the 1970 Business Meeting to the Committee and Council:

6. Child care provisions at the Annual Meetings.

The Association at the suggestion of the Committee made a room available at the Annual Meeting in 1970 and the Women's Caucus agreed to provide supervisors for the children. There was little inquiry about the service, but no advance publicity was given about these arrangements. The Executive Director is authorized by the Council and the Administrative Committee to establish appropriate child care facilities at the 1971 Annual Meeting.

In 1970 the Committee recommended to the Council:

7. Provisions for recruitment and placement services as a major focus of the Committee's concern.

A recommendation was made to the newly established Committee on Recruitment and Placement regarding a clearing house arrangement. (See Bachrach Proposal)

8. Continuation of a Committee on the Status of

Women and provisions for a staff member at the National Office to handle problems of discrimination and to implement the programs suggested by the Committee and the Council.

The Council, in June 1970, approved in principle a successor committee of 3 to 5 members who would supervise the implementation of recommendations from the existing committee and handle any new matters relating to the encouragement of women in the profession.

Final Recommendations

In June 1971 the Committee recommended one resolution for the business meeting and nine implementation actions to the Council and the Association; the Council received the report, accepted it in spirit, and referred it to the Administrative Committee:

A. Resolution Proposed for Approval at the 1971 Annual Business Meeting:

The American Political Science Association recommends that academic institutions provide programs for part-time study; and that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time and full-time study with more flexible age and time provisions.

Provisions for part-time programs of study and support on the undergraduate and graduate level will afford women and for that matter men, the opportunity to enter the profession at various times during their lives. Existing syles of life for women—often including family responsibilities, and for men—often including armed services, act to deter their entering into professional careers, hence programs of study and support for the serious applicants of various ages are necessary. For women part-time programs of study and support are essential to encourage entrance into the field while they continue with family responsibilities.

Some examples of fellowship programs with age limitations are pre-doctoral Woodrow Wilson and Fulbright programs. Academic institutions also impose age and time limitations on their programs that operate to the disadvantage of women candidates having family commitments under existing social customs.

B. Recommendations for further Implementation of Existing Policies:

1. That the Association through its relevant committees urge academic institutions to provide programs for part-time study; and that institutions and foundations provide support for part-time and full-time study with more flexible age and time provisions.

The Committee has an outline of a booklet on career opportunities for women in political science. The successor committee should continue this project.

A person, realizing that a field provides opportunities of interest for the future is encouraged to pursue studies and perhaps a career in that discipline. All too often careers in political science have not been pointed out to girls in secondary schools and to young women in college. Distinct efforts to attract women to the field must begin in the first years of school and continue through graduate programs.

2. That the Association in cooperation with other professional associations encourages academic and governmental institutions to take appropriate action toward advancing qualified women to decision-making and administrative positions.

In all the Committee's study reports evidence appeared to indicate that only a few women were presently serving in administrative capacities and in top decision-making capacities. Able women should be selected, trained and encouraged to take on roles of responsible leadership in academic and administrative affairs.

The Association should get in touch with other professional groups which administer training programs and suggest qualified personnel for administrative positions about the implementation of this recommendation.

3. That the Association continue to support improvements in recruitment procedures and their evaluation both in the national and in the regional associations with additional efforts to find ways of placing women in the employment market. (See Converses and Bachrach)

The Committee in 1971 recommends that:

a. Better evaluation be undertaken of the effect of open listing on the placement of women.
b. Additional improvements of the placement service be provided for efficient data retrieval in

terms of fields of applicants, by positions, experience, degrees, and geographic location.

c. Coordination with regional associations be enhanced by providing information about applications for positions and employment opportunities.

4. That the Association continue to consider restrictive use of its placement service by institutions with anti-nepotism rules. (See 1970, Item 1)

The Committee recommends in 1971 that a grace period be allowed for the implementation of this part of the resolution and that departments in institutions having nepotism rules be served notice of our policy. These departments could then indicate their efforts to abolish the rules and seek assistance, through the National Office, from other professional associations in these efforts. The Committee and the Executive Director should consult about the details of implementing the resolution in relation to the placement service. Several warning actions, such as listing offending institutions, could be taken before final severance from the service.

5. That the Association, in view of its present financial straits establish in June 1971 a Successor Committee:

a. To consist of three to five members with no fewer than two members from the Washington area and one from a nearby metropolitan community. This "successor" committee would be able to supervise the implementation of the report with assistance from the Washington office with little or no committee expense.

(In the appointment the President should consider all the groups in the Association including the Women's Caucus.)

Half the Successor Committee should be appointed for one year and the other half for two years.

b. To work with a liaison member from each of the regional associations. The work of the greater APSA committee would be conducted mainly by telephone between Annual Meetings. (The study committee recommended one meeting in Washington in its recent budget proposal to the Administrative Committee.)

c. To carry on the following functions:

To supervise the implementation of the present Committee's report;

To continue compilation of information about women in the Association and in the profession;

To seek sources for funding research on women in political affairs and society;

To consider appropriate Association action regarding problems faced by women professionals, such as governmental restrictions on certain income tax deductions;

And to initiate other activities to encourage women to enter the profession. Such activities could include representations to congressional members and administrative officials about support of programs to train and/or retrain women for professional careers.

6. That the Association provide child care arrangements at the Annual Meetings.

7. That the Association maintain a list of women with their resumés in the National Office for use in professional and the Association's appointments. The collection of such information was begun in the spring by the Director's office.

8. That the Association's officers and staff assist the Regional Associations and their committees with programs encouraging women to enter the profession and improving recruitment procedures to this purpose.

The Committee studies confirm the operation of location constraints which describes the limited mobility of some women to a certain geographic location. The same constraints also apply as well to some men. Placement services must also extend to the regional and local levels to encourage women in our profession.

9. That the Committee's (1969-1971) Reports and supporting documents be prepared for distribution at a nominal price.

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession
Josephine F. Milburn, Chairman, University of Rhode Island
Peter Bachrach, Temple University
Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan

Warren F. Ilchman, University of California,
Berkeley
Marian D. Irish, American University
Katherine M. Klotzburger, New York University
Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon
Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University
Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, University of Chicago
Victoria Schuck, Mt. Holyoke College
Irene Tinker, Federal City College

Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

Conception of the Committee
With Council approval, the president, David Easton, appointed in March 1969, a Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession. This action was precipitated by a 1968 petition from the membership urging the Association to investigate the role of women in the profession and in the affairs of the Association (see *PS* Fall 1968).

Charge and membership of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women
The major purposes of the APSA Committee, as outlined at the first meeting, were to elicit information about the problems faced by women entering the profssion and to suggest a program to the profession for encouraging women to become political scientists. The Committee was also to suggest ways of improving the professional situation for women. Because of limited financial resources, the Committee decided it could not undertake major research tasks on all aspects of the problem but would consider proposals from the APSA membership and if within the scope of the Committee's charge would assist in the search for funding.

The original Committee members were Josephine Milburn, Chairman, Simmons College, Marian D. Irish, American University, Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon, Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University, and Susanne H. Rudolph, University of Chicago. President Easton named three additional members of the Committee in 1969: Peter Bachrach, Temple University, Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan, andf Warren F. Ilchman, University of California, Berkeley; and President Karl Deutsch appointed three members in the autumn 1969 – Susanne Keller, Princeton University, Kay Klotzburger, Rutgers University, and Victoria Schuck, Mount Holyoke College. Mae King has served as assistant to the Committee since September 1969. James W. Prothro and Irene Tinker have from time to time assisted in the deliberations of the Committee.

Work of the Committee June 1969-May 1970
The Committee held six meetings from June 1969 to July, 1970 – in June, September and October 1969 and in January, May and June 1970. The major work of the Committee during this period involved mailings to department chairmen requesting an enumeration of faculty members and graduate students; recommendations for implementation of these resolutions; preparation of an inventory of sources and a bibliography on the subject, the preparation and distribution of a questionnaire about problems that women may face in the profession; interviews with chairmen of departments and with women in governmental administration; meetings with representatives of other professional associations, chairmen of departments and graduate students in Louisiana and California; and the consideration of resolutions to be presented to the Association in 1969 and 1970.

Survey of Political Science Departments
The preliminary questionnaire sent to department chairmen in May 1969 was designed to determine 1) the number on the political science faculty by sex and rank, 2) the number of undergraduate majors in the department by sex, 3) the number of M.A. and Ph.D. candidates by sex, 4) the number of graduate students who applied for admission for the coming year and the number accepted by sex. The Committee sent out approximately 960 questionnaires and received approximately 450 in return. An analysis of the information returned in this survey "Women in Political Science, Some Preliminary Observations," by Victoria Schuck, was published in *PS* Fall 1969.

An Inventory of Sources and Bibliography
The bibliography on women, begun in May 1969, was enlarged by Joyce Mitchell and colleagues during the summer (when they prepared an inventory of sources and proposed approaches and questions on the subject) and is now being continued by Kay Klotzburger in cooperation with the Washington office.

Questionnaires about possible problems of women in the profession sent to 3100 women and 800 men
A major project undertaken by the Committee dealt with a questionnaire about professional problems of women sent during the spring of 1970 to women in the profession and to graduate women as well as to a selected number of men in the profession and in graduate schools. Philip Converse was responsible for the sampling and the final drafting of the questionnaires. At its December 1969 meeting the Council approved funds for the preparation and processing of the questionnaires. A preliminary review of the data is scheduled for completion by September 1970.

Interviews with Chairmen of Departments and Study of Women in Governmental Administration
The Committee conducted interviews with selected chairmen of departments under the direction of Susanne Rudolph. The study of non-academic women political inventories to provide information on alternative job opportunities was directed by Irene Tinker.

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Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

Meeting with Representatives of other Professional associations

The meetings held with representatives of other professional associations included those from: the American Anthropological Association, the American Economic Association, the American Historical Society, the Modern Language Association, the American Sociological Association, the American Psychological Association and the American Association of University Professors, as well as with representatives from the Radcliffe Institute, the Civil Service Commission and Educational Testing Service. The Committee also met with representatives of the Association for Women Psychologists, and Bureau of Social Science Research.[1]

Meeting with Louisiana and California departments

In addition to informal conferences with faculty members in the East it should be noted that the Committee held two regional meetings: one in the South and the other on the West Coast to confer with faculty and students. In Louisiana the Committee met with faculty members and students from Tulane, Southern University, Louisiana State University, and Loyola. In California meetings were held with faculty and students from San Francisco State, Stanford, and University of California, Berkeley.

The recommendations in this progress report are for immediate (September 1970) action. Long range proposals will be a part of the 1971 final report.

Resolutions adopted by the Association September 1969

In the last year the Committee has also worked to implement resolutions on the status of women in the professions passed by the Association's membership at the 1969 Annual Business Meeting. Three specific resolutions were proposed by the Caucus for a New Political Science. These were considered and revised by both the Committee and the Council and presented to the Association on September 4, 1969. The resolutions and amendments adopted at that time provided:

1. That the APSA support an active recruitment program, especially in any scholarship and fellowship program in which it participates, and actively take special steps to expand the number of places that are occupied by women.

2. That the APSA, especially at its convention, provide for more active participation of women political scientists in offices, committee assignments, convention panels, and other programs and activities of the association.

3. That these and similar programs which create opportunities for women in our profession and encourage women to seek them be continued until some reasonable parity between men and women in the profession is achieved. [The Resolution supported by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession and presented by Josephine Milburn for the APSA Council.]

4. That the APSA, especially at its convention, provide generous facilities by which members can organize on problems of women political scientists. [Amendment presented by Kay Klotzburger for the Caucus for a New Political Science.]

5. That the APSA officially disapprove of discrimination against women in admittance for study, awarding financial support, academic employment, and consideration for promotion; and publicize the information about specific instances of such discrimination. [Amendment presented by Judith Stiehm for the Women's Caucus.]

6. That the APSA resolve never again in the future will it use the facilities of any hotel that follows a policy of discrimination against women. [Amendment presented by Kirsten Steinmo.]

Implementation of Section 2: Women Participants in the Affairs of the Association

With respect to Section 2 of these resolutions, in January 1970 the Committee forwarded lists of members to the President, the President-Elect and the Chairman of the Nominating Committee of the APSA reminding these officials of the 1969 resolution providing for increased participation by women in the affairs of the Association.

1 In discussions with the various professional associations we discovered that in October 1969, one of the associations had undertaken a survey of their membership regarding the problems women might face in entering their respective professions. Individual members of the American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association, however, had already reported on problems as perceived by a section of their membership. Under the auspices of the Radcliffe Institute a detailed survey was conducted among women associated with the Institute and with another selected group of women attached to Harvard. More recently the American Historical Society and the Modern Language Association have established committees to survey problems of women members.

Implementation of Section 5: Specific cases of Discrimination

For the implementing of Section 5 of these resolutions the Committee referred the following recommendations to the Council:

a. Consider appropriate alternative means for handling issues of discrimination in the profession. It requests consideration of means that are responsive to a wide variety of situations of differential treatments because of sex, race and religion, including machinery for publicizing specific instances of discrimination and an ombudsman.

b. Join with other academic associations in urging the AAUP to expand its present concern relating to academic freedom and to include responsibility for considering cases of discrimination against members of the academic community relating to race, religion or sex.

At the Council's request, in March 1970, the Academic Freedom Committee considered the problem and heard a presentation of Marian Irish about methods for handling specific cases of discrimination as suggested by the Committee on the Status of Women. These are: 1) that the APSA appoint a special Association (staff) representative on academic freedom to receive information and complaints on infringements of academic freedom, including discriminatory practices with respect to sex, with respect to graduate women in political science, women political scientists in the academic community (teaching and research), and women in government and public administration; and 2) that the American Political Science Association maintain liaison with the American Association of University Professors Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession together with AAUP's Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure to insure investigation of violations and the administration of sanctions in cases of discrimination on grounds of sex.

The Association announced June 16, 1970, that consistent with the mandate of the 1969 Annual Meeting resolution regarding instances of discrimination against women, it has established an understanding in principle with the staff of AAUP that in situations involving a pattern of unacceptable practices involving discrimination against women or actions detrimental to the status of individual women faculty members, the AAUP will receive information on these matters and will make appropriate inquiries.

Implementation of Section 4: The Women's Caucus

In September 1969 the Women's Caucus for Political Science was formed at the APSA Annual Meeting. The Committee on the Status of Women gave formal recognition to the Women's Caucus at its January 1970 meeting as "an organization sharing in the functions described in Section 4 of the resolution passed in 1969 providing for the organization of members on problems of women in political science."

Recommendations to The Council, June 1970

I. Placement Practices

The Committee on the Status of Women recommends that the Council continue the study of placement procedures, and offers two proposals for the Council's consideration:

(1) to upgrade the Association's placement procedures by organizing and adequate continuous listing and prompt and efficient retrieval of information;

(2) to establish a more elaborate and regionally based evaluation procedure comparable to that now used in the selection of the Woodrow Wilson scholars for the purpose of shifting candidates who apply for listed positions. (This recommendation was referred by the Council to the Program Planning Review Committee, June 1970.)

We have found that present recruitment processes in the profession which rely disproportionately on grapevine methods fail to serve women as adequately as men, and so we have moved to consider problems of recruitment more generally.

Experience with the present APSA Personnel Service and our interviews with departmental chairmen convince us that the proposal for open listing of positions as it now stands before the Council would be ineffectual. Many institutions of standing will not use it and institutions whose listings are considered desirable may be penalized by unmanageable numbers of unevaluated applicants. As a consequence, we fear open listing may well become an impractical formalism.

II. Anti-nepotism Rules

The American Political Science Association recommends that institutions employing political scientists should abolish nepotism rules, whether they apply departmentally or college or university-wide. Employment and advancement should be based

Reports of the APSA Committee

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession: A Progress Report, September 1970

solely on professional qualifications without regard for family relationships. (This proposed resolution will be considered by the Administrative Committee of the Council, for placement on the agenda of the next Council meeting.)

Nepotism rules were formulated to discourage favoritism based on family relationship. However, their impact has been to fall disportionately upon women, and often to serve as an instrument of injustice to these women. Universities and colleges may wish to formulate conflict of interest rules to serve the legitimate functions nepotism rules served in the past, to assure that no department or cross-divisional officer is in a position to act upon the appointment, promotion, or prerequisities of his/her spouse.

III. Part-time Employment

We propose that the Americal Political Science Association recommend that institutions employing political scientists should make more flexible use of part-time positions for full qualified professional women and men, just as is now done for those professionals with joint appointments or part-time research positions. These positions should carry full academic status, equivalent rank and promotion opportunities, equal rates of pay, commensurate departmental participation, and commensurate fringe benefits, including access to research resources. This recommendation is not intended to condone any practice such as moon-lighting or any use by employers to circumvent normal career ladder appointments. (This proposed resolution will be considered by the Administrative Committee of the Council, for placement on the agenda of the next Council meeting.) These are professionals who find a full time job commitment a hindrance to their professional performance. For this reason both professional norms and fairness can best be served by a more flexible definition of what defines a competent political scientist.

Continuing Work of the Committee

Among the other subjects to be studied by the Committee are: part-time study and part-time scholarships; academic counselling; training and retraining for teaching and government service; child care provisions; advising systems in secondary, college, and graduate institutions; and procedures for handling specific instances of discrimination. The Committee will continue to support and cooperate closely with groups such as the Women's Caucus which are active in working for equal opportunities for women. The Committee will continue to inform the members of the Association of its activities and will welcome suggestions from the membership.

Recommendations on Committee work

On recommendation of the Committee the Council at its June 1970 meeting approved continuation of this Committee for one more year, at the end of which it would be reconstituted with a membership of three to five and with essentially a watchdog function. The Council also approved additional funds to complete the coding and analysis of data collected in the second series of questionnaires. (Resources available before July 1, 1970, were sufficient to code, punch and analyze a subsample of some 600 questionnaires.) The added funds will provide for processing the 900 additional completed questionnaires. The results are to be published in *PS* and should serve as a basis for further recommendations to be developed by the Committee during the 1970-71 year.

Josephine Milburn, Chairman, *Univ. of Rhode Island*
Peter Bachrach, *Temple University*
Philip E. Converse, *University of Michigan*
Warren F. Ilchman, *University of California, Berkeley*
Marian D. Irish, *American University*
Kay Klotzburger, *Rutgers University*
Jewel L. Prestage, *Southern University*
Susanne H. Rudolph, *University of Chicago*
Victoria Schuck, *Mount Holyoke College*

COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION

1969

INTERIM REPORT

The major purposes of the American Political Science Association Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, appointed in March, 1969, by President David Easton, are to elicit information about the problems faced by women entering the profession, to suggest for the profession a program that will encourage women to enter political science, and to work for the improvement of the professional atmosphere for women who are already in the profession and for those who will enter it. Some possible problems which seem evident include the balancing of family with professional obligations, provision of part-time work with usual benefits of regular employment and more equitable provisions for professional women with household responsibilities.

The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession has held two meetings one in May and the other in June. The original members of the Committee are Josephine F. Milburn, chairman, Simmons College; Marian D. Irish, American University; Joyce M. Mitchell, University of Oregon; Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University; and Susanne H. Rudolph, University of Chicago. Peter Bachrach, Temple University; Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan; and Warren F. Ilchman, University of California, Berkeley, have agreed to join the Committee. Ruth Hawkins from the Caucus for a New Political Science and James W. Prothro, University of North Carolina, are being consulted by the Committee.

The Committee has drawn together a bibliography on women in the professions, especially that of political science. It has accumulated some material in the APSA national office and is continuing to search for further data.

In its first meeting, the Committee discussed possible problems which women face and postulated some possible solutions for these problems. These hypotheses are to be tested through a series of questionnaires to women in the profession, women graduate students, and department chairmen.

A preliminary survey was made in May of political science department chairmen to determine 1) the number on the political science faculty, by sex and by rank; 2) the number of undergraduate majors in the department, by sex; 3) the number of M.A. and Ph.D. candidates, by sex; 4) the number of graduate students who applied for admission for the coming year and the number accepted, by sex. The Committee sent out approximately 950 questionnaires and received approximately 450 in return.

In its June meeting, the Committee made preparations for its presentation at the Association's Annual Meeting in September, considered the form and content of the questionnaires to be sent out in the autumn and discussed the resolution on women proposed by the Caucus for a New Political Science (presented by Ruth Hawkins). Some revisions were suggested. The Committee then endorsed support of the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED:

1) that the APSA support an active recruitment program, especially in the scholarship and fellowship program it administers and actively take special steps to expand the number of places that are occupied by women;
2) that the APSA, especially at its conventions, provide for more active participation of women political scientists in offices, committee assignments, convention panels, and other programs and activities of the association;
3) that these and similar programs, to create opportunities for women in our profession and to encourage women to seek them, be continued until some reasonable parity between men and women in the profession is achieved.

This information on the resolution is to be forwarded to the Council for consideration in September.

The Committee plans to hold two open meeting at the APSA Annual Meeting in September to receive comments and constructive suggestions on its work, proposed quesionnaires, and approaches to the study of the status of women in the profession.

During the autumn, the Committee will complete the questionnaires, send them out to gather information for the preparation of a final problems report in December, and conduct interviews with department chairmen and other administrators. Other associations which are interested in the problem will also be consulted. A final report with conclusions and proposals for solutions to the problems of women in the profession will be presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the APSA.

P.S.

The Status of Women As Students and Professionals in Political Science

Philip E. Converse
and Jean M. Converse
University of Michigan

What unique problems currently confront women eager to pursue careers in the discipline of political science? This question was a central one for the Association's Committee on the Status of Women, organized two years ago. As a major part of its fact-finding activities, the Committee conducted a mail survey of graduate students and post-graduate professionals in the discipline during the spring of 1970.

It is obvious that the development of all careers present obstacles. But the Committee survey was designed to arrive at some balanced and realistic view of those points at which women in particular encounter difficulties that are less prevalent for men in comparable situations.

In the background stood the obvious fact, well documented elsewhere,[1] that in the progress over career development hurdles from undergraduate majors in political science through to active roles as adult professionals in the discipline, women show much more marked rates of attrition than men. Clearly a substantial proportion of the extra attrition arises because of a choice on the part of the female at one point or another in favor of a conventional sex role within the family, with a consequent abandonment of career aspirations. However, increasing numbers of women would like to maintain a mix of family and career roles, and there is reason to believe that the current structure of opportunities raises artificial obstacles to such professional participation, and loses important talent to the profession.

Thus while the survey questionnaire bore at points on simple discrimination because of sex, it was more broadly addressed to the numerous difficulties facing any woman interested in a career in political science. Among other things, it served as a means of collecting constructive solutions to these difficulties suggested by concerned women, which might have escaped the Committee's attention.[2] And it attempted to gauge the severity of problems encountered by women at the various gateways in career development, with an eye to providing a firm basis for priorities among various remedial policy possibilities.

The Study Design

The Committee recognized at the outset that any ideal design for assessing sources of attrition among women lay far beyond financial or practical reach. The ideal study, for example, would have involved personal interviewing to escape the low response rates that are inevitable in most types of mail surveys. However, such a design would have multiplied data-collection costs by a very significant factor, and could not be seriously considered.

An ideal study would also have traced cohorts longitudinally as they proceed from undergraduate interests in political science through the gateways into graduate school, degree completion, job placement and up the normal career ladder. Of course it would have been impossible by definition to conduct such a long-term longitudinal study in the space of the year alloted to "fact-finding." Nonetheless, a "second-best" design would have involved a survey of all women who have been interested in political science as undergraduate students over the past two, three or four decades, yet only a small minority of whom either succeeded, or opted, to pass the successive hurdles into full-fledged participation as adult professionals in political science. However, even this second-best design was not feasible, since no sampling frame could be organized to register this original pool of potential political scientists, some of whom must have dropped by the wayside for lack of talent, others by preference, and still others by the kind of "system discouragement" of interest to the Committee.

1 Victoria Schuck, "Femina Studens rei Publicae: Notes on her Professional Achievement," *P.S.*, Vol. III, No. 4 (Fall, 1970), p. 262.

2 The qualitative materials involving possible solutions to the problems of women have been reviewed in a separate report by Jewel Prestage.

The only sampling frames that could realistically be assembled involved the set of post-graduate women interested enough in the discipline to maintain membership in the Association; and the set of women currently enrolled in graduate departments of political science across the country. Our samples have been drawn from these two universes. In interpreting results from this "third-best" design, however, it is imperative to keep in mind that our sample of practicing political scientists is in no sense a reflection of our sample of women graduate students as they might look, other things equal, after a lapse of five, fifteen or thirty years. At the very most, the sample of adult professionals must be cautiously viewed as the minority of *survivors* who neither opted out of the discipline nor became discouraged by unusual obstacles to their participation.[3] We will take some pains to keep this fact in plain view.

At one other important point we were fortunately able to take special steps toward developing a minimal design. The mail survey, as we have seen, was aimed at assessing the career progress of women in the discipline, captured like disconnected snapshots at two different major stages. However, all pre-professional and professional cohorts suffer attrition as they proceed up the career ladder, and we were chiefly interested in locating sex-specific difficulties. Given this goal, the only reasonable point of comparison had to be the career progress of males at the same two stages. Therefore from comparable sampling frames we surveyed small control groups of practicing male political scientists (again, post-graduate members of the Association), as well as male students working on advanced degrees in the discipline. Thus our analyses are focussed on two pairs of samples: the post-graduate female political scientists, with a male control sample; and the sample of graduate women with its male controls.[4]

We assumed at the outset that response rates would not be outstanding for the mail survey, and that they would vary moreover across our four samples, with women generally being more motivated to respond than men, and the professional samples more dutifully responsive than the graduate samples. These differences were generally borne out, although they were less marked than expected.

Response rates can only be calculated within a rough range, largely because of some time lag between available lists of names and the reality at the time of the survey, blurring the boundaries of the target populations. Of questionnaires returned, substantial proportions (about 10%) were blank or incomplete, usually on grounds that they were no longer relevant to the individual's current status. In some cases, the same individuals had received both graduate and professional questionnaires, and returned one of them blank. In other cases, people on the graduate lists had completed graduate work or had left political science in the interim. A handful of completed questionnaires straggled in too late to be included in the coding and analyses.

In all, 43.2% of female professionals were at least heard from, including some unused questionnaires; the proportion for male professionals was 36.5%; for female graduate students, 39.4%; and for male graduate students 37.1%. The proportions of questionnaires utilized of the original mailing, however, were 39.2% for female professionals; 33.8% for male professionals; 34.4% for female graduate students; and

3 One clear symptom of this distinction is the fact that 30% of our professional women have never been married or have current plans for marriage. On the other hand, while our graduate women are very much younger (80% are under 30), only 30% have not been married or lack immediate plans for marriage.

4 In addition, a small sample of women administrators in governmental agencies, purposively selected to cover people with political science backgrounds, but who had not necessarily maintained Association membership, was surveyed through the efforts of Irene Tinker. This additional sample was given the female professional questionnaire, fortified with a number of extra questions designed specifically for the administrative situation. The results of this supplemental survey are provided by Tinker in a separate portion of the Committee Report.

28.8% for male graduate students. If we were to adjust the rates in a reasonable way to exclude overlaps and the more reasonable self-definitions of irrelevance, then we would arrive at rates of 42.0%, 35.8%. 38.6% and 36.7%, respectively.

These response rates are not, of course, high. We would expect persons of both sexes responding to the questionnaire to be somewhat more sensitized to or sympathetic with problems of women in the profession than non-respondents. Thus it is worth keeping in mind that results having to do with rates of perceived or objective problems of women are likely to run higher than would be found for the profession as a whole. On the other hand, the very modest differences in response rates by sex may be some indication that such differences in relevant predispositions make only a modest contribution to the probability of response, and the results are unlikely to be grossly misstated.

Perceptions of Sex Discrimination

The fact that women do drop out of the discipline at rates higher than men for reasons not always associated with either blatant discrimination or more subtle system discouragement means that it is hard to establish compelling objective evidence that either type of dissuasion is operating. On the other hand, evidence of felt discrimination is entirely easy to develop by simple and direct questions, and our data in this regard make a convenient point of departure. There is no need to confuse these perceptions with some reality as defined by an outside observer, and we shall indeed turn to objective patterns of sex difference in professional status at a later point. However, as we shall see, the major points of felt discrimination turn out to be quite marked and non-controversial across our samples, and show a comfortable degree of fit with the analyses of more objective data.

We asked a large battery of items concerning perceived discrimination less to establish any absolute rates, than on the simple assumption that if sex-specific discouragement to women was concentrated in certain aspects of career development, it should come through clearly as a relative matter in such items. We asked our women respondents to indicate the degree of difficulty, if any, that they may have encountered because of their sex in connection with each of about eight specific types of opportunity or reward, across each of the three broad domains of graduate education, teaching in academic departments, and research. Professional women were asked an additional set of eight items within a fourth domain of administrative opportunities, wherever they could claim any relevant experience. The control sample of professional males was posed the same set of items across the four domains, but was asked to judge the degree to which women, in their observation, encountered discrimination on grounds of sex. Few female graduate students would have had academic teaching or research experience, so that the items in these two domains were asked in a prospective vein, while the items on discrimination during graduate training in political science referred to past personal experience, as they did for adult professionals as well. The control sample of male graduate students was given a comparable set of items addressed to their perceptions of points at which women are likely to experience discrimination. We shall give our main attention to a summary index of the intensity of perceived discrimination for each of the 23 items asked in common of all four samples, as portrayed in Table 1.

Table 1 Variations in Perceived Discrimination by Career Aspect and Sample*

MALE PROFESSIONALS	FEMALE PROFESSIONALS		FEMALE GRAD. STUDENTS	MALE GRAD. STUDENTS
		—2.12—	JOB CONSIDERATION	
		—2.06—	PROMOTION	
		—2.00—	TEACHING APP'T	
		—1.94—		
		—1.88—		JOB CONSIDERATION
		—1.82—	SALARY TENURE	
JOB CONSIDERATION		—1.76—	INITIAL RANK	TEACHING APP'T
		—1.70—		
TEACHING APP'T		—1.64—		
		—1.58—	DECISION-MAKING	PROMOTION
		—1.52—	FRINGE BENEFITS	
		—1.46—	Placement Service *Grant Application*	
SALARY	JOB CONSIDERATION	—1.40—		TENURE
		—1.34—		
	SALARY			
PROMOTION		—1.28—		SALARY
	TEACHING APP'T	—1.22—		INITIAL RANK DECISION-MAKING Placement Service *Grant Application*
TENURE		—1.16—	*Secretar. Assist.* Financial Support	
	PROMOTION	—1.10—		
Grant Application				Financial Support
INITIAL RANK	Placement Service	—1.04—		
	Financial Support INITIAL RANK	— .98—	*Journal Public.* *Comman. Press Publ.* *Research Time*	Later Profess. Inter. FRINGE BENEFITS
Financial Support		— .92—	Profess. Support Later Profess. Inter *U. Press Public.*	Grad. Admission *Secretar. Assist.* Dep't Admission Profess. Support *Research Time* *Comm. Press. Public.*
Placement Service DECISION-MAKING Grad. Admission	TENURE DECISION-MAKING	— .86—		
		— .80—	Dep't Admission Grad. Admission	
Profess. Support FRINGE BENEFITS Later Profess. Inter.	Later Profess. Inter.			
	Profess. Support *Grant Application* FRINGE BENEFITS	— .74—		Degree Candidacy *Journal Public.* *U. Press Public.*
Secret. Assist.		— 68—		
	Research Time *Secret. Assist.* Teaching Fellow	— .62—	Teaching Fellow	
Dep't Admission *Camm. Press Public.* *Research Time*		— .56—	Exams, Thesis Degree Candidacy	Teaching Fellow
Teaching Fellow *Journal Public.*	Grad. Admission Exams, Thesis	— .50—		
	Dep't Admission			Exams, Thesis
Degree Candidacy	Degree Candidacy	— .44—		
U. Press Public.		— .38—		
	Journ. Public. *U. Press Public.*	— .32—		
	Comm. Press Public			
Exams, Thesis		— .26—		

* The full items which were posed for rating in terms of "degree of problems . . . felt . . . because of . . . sex" were as follows:

For *graduate instruction:* "Standards for admission to graduate school"; "Standards for admission to your graduate department"; "Financial assistance, scholarships"; "Candidacy to advanced degree"; "Performance expected in examinations or thesis"; "Conduct of undergraduate or discussion sections"; "Placement service"; "General support of professors"; and "Follow-up interest of professors."

FOR *TEACHING:* "CONSIDERATION OF JOB APPLICATIONS"; "APPOINTMENT TO TEACHING POSITIONS"; "INITIAL RANK ASSIGNMENT"; "PROMOTION"; "TENURE"; "SALARY"; "FRINGE BENEFITS (e.g., TRAVEL AIDS, LEAVES, SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE)"; "PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL OR DEPARTMENTAL DECISION-MAKING."

For research: "Grant or fellowship applications"; "Secretarial assistance"; "Allowance for research as part of 'load' "; "Leave of absence or other research arrangement"; "Publication in professional journals"; "Publication by University presses"; "Publication by commercial presses." For each of these items the respondent was invited to indicate whether sex-related problems were "blatent", "moderate," "slight," or "none" if relevant to the individual. Items are located in according to mean responses to the item based on simple integer scores (0-3).

Two marked patterns are obvious in the most cursory scanning of these perceived discrimination reports. First, across all four samples, reports of discrimination are much more prevalent for the domain of academic teaching than they are for the other two areas of graduate training and research. Among female graduate students, for example, the eight items which rank highest of 23 in perceived discrimination are exactly the eight items in the teaching battery. The situation is nearly as clearcut for the other three samples, with five to seven of the eight teaching items appearing at the top of each group's list. The two other domains of research and graduate training trail about equally far behind teaching in their overall levels of perceived discrimination.

A second gross feature of these data is a marked "generation gap" in reports made by the four samples. Graduate students are more likely to perceive discrimination along sex lines than their post-graduate elders. The difference between the two male control samples is limited, but it becomes very dramatic between the two female groups. Graduate student women give much higher reports of perceived discrimination than either of the other three samples. On the other hand, women who are practicing as political scientists are even *less* likely overall to report discrimination by sex than either of the male control groups.

Several points should be kept in mind in any interpretation of these broadest features of the data. Where women students are concerned, for example, the high concentration of discrimination reports in the teaching area has a peculiar conceptual status. Few if any of these graduate women can be reporting discrimination in the teaching area from their own immediate experience, for they have not as yet entered the academic marketplace or taken on normal professional teaching roles. Indeed, in the one domain where graduate women can claim personal experience—the area of graduate instruction—reports of discrimination are quite limited. In the aggregate they outrun only slightly the parallel reports made about graduate instruction by the other three samples, and even this difference arises mainly because graduate women give high reports of discrimination for the one item in the graduate-training set which fewest of them have yet encountered—their ultimate treatment at the hands of the university placement service, again an integral part of the academic marketplace. Therefore there is a sense in which the graduate women's reports about the teaching area are more nearly apprehensions than "felt" discrimination."

However, it would be quite wide of the mark to dismiss these apprehensions as groundless. For one thing, these graduate women are mainly located at large academic institutions with graduate training facilities, and our study, as well as others, shows that women are even more sharply underrepresented in the faculties of such institutions than they are in the profession as a whole. This fact in itself could justify a fair degree of apprehension. Moreover, it would be unwise to consider the low reports of felt discrimination in teaching roles that come in from older women with first-hand experience as a completely accurate gauge of reality. As we have emphasized before, our sample of professional women is not merely a glimpse at the set of graduate women some years later. They are the subset of onetime graduate students who have "made it," and we have systematically lost from view their peers of earlier years who were less successful. If discrimination along sex lines does constitute serious discouragement to the pursuit of careers in political science among many women, then comparable reports of felt discrimination provided by our missing set of "dropouts" could be expected to run a good deal higher than among the remaining successful practitioners.

We have, of course, no firm way of "proving" this kind of supposition. However, there is certainly internal evidence in the data that women who have built more or less successful adult careers in the discipline are indeed a select group. Moreover, it is quite possible that they are not fully appreciative about the degree of winnowing along sex lines that does occur. As suggested above, our sample of male political scientists is more likely to report discrimination against their female teaching colleagues than those colleagues themselves report. While we should bear in mind the likelihood that males responding to our questionnaire are probably more sympathetic to problems of female status than the majority who did not respond, there is no reason to imagine this self-selection bias would be greater toward sympathetic men than it would be toward the more aggrieved among the women. Moreover, these male political scientists are by and large the "gatekeepers" of the discipline, and could be expected to have the most direct and realistic view of the processes which surround the passing of the gates. Many departmental gate-keeping committees are all-male, and it would not be surprising if, when a stray female does sit on such a committee, explicit discriminatory postures may be suppressed. What strikes our eye in the data is the simple fact that reports of discrimination by sex provided by the male practitioners most clearly outrun those of their female colleagues at exactly the most crucial "gatekeeping" points in each of our three domains: school admissions, where graduate education is concerned; consideration for teaching jobs, the awarding of teaching items; and in the matter of grant applications, where the domain of research is involved.

For all of these reasons, the apprehensions of female graduate students about treatment in entering and maintaining teaching jobs cannot be discarded lightly. Even were they totally groundless, the apprehensions themselves are real enough, in the sense that they would be likely to have real effects in building discouragement from the kinds of long-term planning and perserverance required to develop a coherent career. If these apprehensions could be shown to be "objectively" groundless, then the A.P.S.A. would have some responsibility to publicize the evidence in order to allay fears and prevent discouragement. If, on the other hand, the fears have some grounding, then other kinds of remedial action need to be developed.

Consensus on Areas of Discrimination

For purpose of policy selection, therefore, the crux of the issue comes to lie in the "objective" parts of the study, and we will find them of some illumination. However, it is worth stressing that the contours shown by the perceived-discrimination materials taken alone alleviate some of the burden of proof which would otherwise remain with the objective materials. This is true because the differential patterns of perceived discrimination across our four samples are rather dwarfed by the entirely remarkable level of consensus as to the points where discrimination by sex is most and least likely to occur along the stages of career progress. If we take all 23 items rated in common by all four samples and establish their four separate rank orders of discrimination severity, then there are six possible pairs of rankings across the four groups that may be examined for their congruence. Taking a measure of rank-order correlation (Spearman *rho*) as our index of agreement, the lowest of these six possible correlations is .84; the highest is .96; and the mean of the six coefficients is very close to .90.[5] The degree of consensus as to where discrimination is more or less of a problem is truly massive within the discipline.

5 Moreover, the nature of the data is such that Pearson correlation coefficients would run visibly higher still.

Such consensus is important for a very simple reason. In the classic form of litigation about discrimination, the aggrieved party alleges that discrimination has occurred in some specific decision, and the decision-maker retorts that the decision was based instead upon other more universal criteria. At this point the issue is joined as to whether the plaintiff is charging discrimination as some form of defensive fantasy, or has in some more objective sense been discriminated against. Thus the central problem is to disentangle perception and reality. This does not, however, seem to be the chief problem within the discipline. Despite possible abiding disagreement between the sexes as to the absolute levels of discrimination that pertain, there appears to be very little disagreement concerning the points at which such discrimination as exists tends to concentrate. For purposes of setting priorities among various remedial policies—a main goal of our Committee—this fact greatly reduces the premium that would otherwise have to be placed on objective demonstrations of greater or lesser discrimination here or there.

Let us therefore take more detailed note of the broad lines of agreement across the four samples. All quadrants of the discipline appear to see discrimination against women as centering not only within academic teaching, but more especially in the gateways that represent access to standard teaching roles. Discrimination against women with regard to the "consideration of (teaching) job applications" is rated highest of all the 23 items in every one of our four sample groups. The closely related item of "appointment to teaching positions" runs second or third on all lists. If responses of our male professional sample can be taken as any "inside view," it may be significant that these two items stand quite far above the other 21 in their ratings of discrimination. Moreover, within the domain of nine items focussed on graduate education, the "placement service" tends to be singled out by far the most frequently for criticism of discrimination (it is the first of nine graduate instruction items for three of the samples, and a close second place for the male professional sample). This strong and consensual focus on the gates to conventional teaching positions has meshed well with other information available to the Committee, and has been important in developing its sense of priorities for remedial action.

Without obscuring this central fact, however, some other points of agreement as to the locus of discrimination are worth brief consideration. In addition to problems at the starting point, later hurdles in departmental career progress for practicing teachers also receive relatively high reports of discrimination. Salary, promotions and tenure tend to occupy three of the five or six ranks just below job consideration and successful appointment for all of the sample groups, and "initial rank assignment" follows rather closely. Female professionals place discrimination in salary in second place on their 23-item lists, and seem to sense less discrimination surrounding the granting of tenure or initial rank assignment than the other three samples see or anticipate. Of the eight teaching items, only "participation in school or departmental decision-making" and "fringe benefits (travel aids, leaves, secretarial assistance)" are accorded quite modest discrimination ratings, although it should be mentioned that in absolute terms, female graduate students continue to show high levels of apprehension about both of these items.

Where graduate instruction is concerned, the item concerning receipt of "financial assistance and scholarships" tends to run a rather close second to treatment by the placement service on most lists, and surpasses it for first place among male professionals. Virtually all of the other graduate education items—including such things as school and departmental admission, the establishment of candidacy, standards expected on theses or examinations, the conduct of teaching

fellow roles and informal professorial support—are given significantly lower discrimination ratings, although there is some consensus as to third place in the instruction hierarchy: many of our respondents place "follow-up interest of professors" in this position, an item again related to subsequent gateways to academia.

Within the final domain, that of research, "grant applications" tend to run well ahead of the other five items on the list within all four samples and especially, as we have seen, among male professionals. Once beyond grant applications, the other research and publication items draw only very limited criticism for three of the samples. However, graduate student women express at least moderately high levels of concern about encountering discrimination in professional journals, or University and commercial presses. Unlike some of the other apprehensions of graduate women that received some support from male professionals, this anxiety is shared nowhere else, and least of all among the male and female professionals with some experience in publishing. This may well be a point at which the graduate women's apprehensions are indeed quite exaggerated, and suggestive of the ways that discrimination by sex may be feared on one hand, and actually exercised on the other. Graduate women tend to anticipate that they may be discriminated against wholesale in their adult professional roles, as though most males in the discipline were generically hostile to any intrusion on their part. Yet this view may be quite overgeneralized. When a woman presents some intellectual *fait accompli* such as a manuscript, it is likely that most males will examine it against universal criteria, even without the safeguards of anonymity frequently provided in the publication review process. This kind of judgment is quite different from that involved in the academic job market, where both recommendors and hirers tend to proceed much less in terms of accomplishments in hand, but rather on the basis of long-range estimates as to perseverance and accomplishments that might be expected of a candidate in future decades. It is here that males are likely to depend heavily on the kind of conventional sex-role assumptions that systematically downgrade women as prospects.

However all this may be, any summary of the perceived discrimination materials must emphasize that concerns across all four samples tend to focus in common upon areas that could hardly be called peripheral. Indeed, if we were to ask some independent judge to single out those items of our 23 that are most crucial for career progress in each of the domains of graduate instruction, teaching and research, it seems very likely that the items so chosen would also be those where the reports of discrimination are most prevalent.

Let us turn to see what kind of fit there may be between these perceptual materials and what can be learned more objectively about the relative status of women at the two career phases.

The Status of Women in Graduate Instruction

There are many aspects of the graduate instruction process that bear on student welfare but lend themselves only poorly to "objective" measurement and comparison. Thus, for example, it would be difficult to develop indices of the general supportiveness of professors or their follow-up interest in students on bases other than the reports of the clients themselves, along the lines of the perceptual materials in the preceding section. Similarly, performance expectations with regard to exams, teaching fellow roles, or thesis preparation are largely intangibles difficult to monitor on any independent grounds.

Nevertheless, two aspects of student welfare do permit more objective scrutiny. The first is the gateway to the process itself: admission to a department of political science as a bona fide graduate student.

The second is the nature and amount of financial assistance made available to facilitate study. Both admission and support are limited "goods" which attract more claimants than can be supplied, and thus selective distribution is involved. And both leave relatively tangible records of the results of competition. Therefore we shall focus in this section on the relative status of current graduate women in these two regards. First, however, it is useful to say some introductory words about our male and female samples of graduate students. Male students were deliberately undersampled, with an eye to providing no more than a small "control group." Therefore they differ widely in size, with only 94 effective cases of males, as against some 635 women. Internally, however, the samples are somewhat less distinctive from one another on many "objective" characteristics than we had expected. Thus, for example, since a wide majority (70%) of our graduate women are or have been married, we thought that they might report an uncommon amount of disruption of and part-time engagement in their graduate careers. When we asked "Have you experienced any major discontinuities (over a year in length) that have affected the development of your major career?" some 33% of women responded in the affirmative. However, 29% of the male control sample made the same reply, suggesting that in this graduate cohort at least, intrusions such as military service make roughly comparable inroads on normal career development, whatever subsequent discrepancies may pertain in the institutional facilitation of a return to studies. Furthermore, somewhat indirect materials bearing on part-time engagement in graduate training indicate that currently there are not wide differences between the sexes in this regard either.

We were also interested in how males and females were distributed across different types of graduate schools, with particular emphasis on ratings of university quality.[6] Once again, however, sex differences are remarkably slight. While there may very well be marked differences in the sex ratio of graduate students across various individual departments of political science, there is no systematic progression in this ration when departments are grouped in gross classes across the school quality range. Indeed, the distribution of male and female students jointly by school quality and incidence of personal career discontinuities are virtually identical.

The two samples do differ quite clearly with regard to one characteristic of high relevance to our current inquiry, however. Although we lack any detailed information on individual qualifications for graduate work such as Graduate Record Examination scores or undergraduate grades, we did ask respondents to enumerate any special academic honors they may have achieved, typically although not exclusively at the undergraduate level. When these reports of honors are grouped into coarse classes, it is clear that our graduate women can claim visibly more than their male peers (Table 2).

Since differences of this kind might be expected to have a strong bearing on the outcome of competition for berths in the better graduate schools, as well as for the more desirable forms of financial support, we shall keep them in clear view as we proceed.

Graduate Admission. We asked our respondents for the number of graduate schools to which they had applied, as well as the number where they were accepted. We also asked them to single out the five

6 It would have been useful for the purposes of this study to have had available ratings of the specific quality of various departments of political science. When in this report we refer to "school quality", however, we refer to overall ratings of universities and colleges based on a combination of A.A.U.P. data on levels of faculty salary, and assessments of the "demonstrated academic potential of the student body, as provided by James Cass and Max Birnbaum in *The Comparative Guide to American Colleges* (Harper and Row, 4th Edition, 1969).

Table 2 Past Academic Honors Received by Graduate Students

	Women	Men
Top Honors: Phi Beta Kappa (usually accompanied by graduation with various high degrees of distinction)	21%	8%
Moderate Honors: Graduation with honors; Membership in undergraduate disciplinary honorary societies, etc.	30	24
No Honors Reported	49	68
	100%	100%

graduate schools which had been of greatest interest to them, with the acceptance or rejection outcome for each. Since we can attach quality ratings to most of the schools involved, we are able to make estimations as to levels of aspiration and levels of success by individuals in the graduate admission process.

The average graduate student in our samples had applied to only about three graduate schools (mean of 3.17 for males, 2.93 for females). Exactly 36% of both male and female samples had applied to only one school, and the slightly higher application rate among males overall was due to one enterprising fellow who applied at 37 schools. If he were set aside, women would have been slightly more diligent about applications than men, but the differences are entirely trivial. Men turned out to be accepted at 81% of the schools to which they applied, and women at 76%. Women were, on the other hand, more likely to apply at higher-quality schools than men, and some differences in this direction still remain even after the higher incidence of past honors (as in Table 1) is controlled away.

One derived measure which we expected to be rather central to our analysis of admissions involved the average quality of accepting schools (success level), expressed in proportion to the average quality of target schools most interested in (aspiration level). This measure turned out, however, to be almost amusingly inert, taking a value of about .96 for the most diverse subgroups. To some degree, such an outcome is foreordained by the fact that most aspirants are accepted at most places they apply: the competitive aspects are less keen than we first imagined. However, its sheer inertia does have some interest, for there are fairly marked individual and group differences in level of aspiration. Thus, for example, men and women with Phi Beta Kappa keys apply on balance to a much higher cut of graduate schools than people without such credentials; they are, however, more likely to be accepted at such graduate schools as well, so that the success rate remains quite constant.

Table 3 Aspects of Graduate Application and Admission, by Sex and Past Academic Honors

	Mean Quality, Schools Applied of Greatest Interest to Candidate		Mean Quality, Schools where Candidate was Accepted	
	Women*	Men*	Women	Men
Top Honors	4.72	4.73	4.52	4.53
Moderate Honors	3.90	3.70	3.71	3.55
No Honors	3.92	3.89	3.72	3.68
	Ratio of Number of Schools Accepted to Number where Applied		Ratio, Mean Quality Schools Accepted to Schools Applied	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Top Honors	.873	.896	.961	.956
Moderate Honors	.857	.827	.953	.966
No Honors	.823	.853	.959	.964

* The women's observations are based on about 545 cases without missing data on some contributing variable; the effective male observations are about 81.

In Table 3 we summarize some of the main results of our examination of graduate admissions by sex. It is difficult in the extreme to generate much excitement about sex discrimination from these findings: the differences are everywhere small and well within sampling error. On the other hand, it is true that only a rather faint breath of suspicion has been attached to the graduate admissions process by our respondents of both sexes and ages in any event (Table 1). Therefore it is worth moving directly to a consideration of financial support in graduate training, an item which, aside from the placement service, attracted as much criticism as any among the various aspects of graduate instruction canvassed.

Financial Support. We collected rather detailed information concerning the financial bases on which our graduate student respondents had operated during their training up to the time of the interview. These data were expressed as proportions of total expenditures, and included various kinds of fellowships, scholarships, assistantships and traineeships, as well as "private" support from own earnings, the spouse, parents, and other sources. While some of the details are of interest, we shall limit our attention here to three main types of support. The first represents the true prize: fellowships and scholarships that carry no work obligations. The second involves financial support gained in return for various labors that are at least training-related: teaching and research assistantships and the like. The final level is recourse to private support.

The support picture within our graduate samples varies widely both at the individual level in terms of credentials ("past academic honors") and at the institutional level in terms of school quality. Phi Beta Kappas at what is roughly the upper quarter of graduate institutions with regard to school quality have drawn well over half of their support from attractive fellowships, and

Table 4 Financial Support for Graduate Training, by Sex, Honors and School Quality

FEMALE POSTGRADUATE	TOP HONORS School Quality				MODERATE HONORS School Quality				NO HONORS School Quality			
	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL	Low	Med.	High	TOTAL
Fellowship	23.6%	45.8%	56.2%	50.3%	19.2%	22.1%	46.8%	28.0%	12.9%	22.7%	36.5%	23.7%
Assistantship	14.6	20.4	15.0	16.9	26.6	16.7	10.7	17.4	24.6	28.6	11.6	22.5
Own Resources	61.8	33.8	28.8	32.8	54.2	61.2	42.5	54.6	62.5	48.7	51.9	53.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	(11)	(39)	(77)	(128)[a]	(40)	(80)	(52)	(188)[a]	(73)	(129)	(87)	(297)[a]
MALE POSTGRADUATE												
Fellowship	[b]	[b]	[b]	50.0%	[b]	[b]	[b]	19.6%	1.5%	29.2%	46.8%	27.1%
Assistantship	[b]	[b]	[b]	47.1	[b]	[b]	[b]	15.8	13.0	26.1	23.8	16.3
Own Resources	[b]	[b]	[b]	2.9	[b]	[b]	[b]	64.5	85.5	44.7	29.4	56.6
				100.0%				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N				(7)				(22)	(10)	(18)	(20)	(62)[a]

[a] Totals include some cases with missing data on school quality.
[b] Inadequate case numbers.

must turn to private resources for only about one-quarter of their subsistence. Students who do not claim past honors, enrolled at schools of the lower half in quality, only get a bit more than 10% of their support from fellowships and must fall back on private resources for nearly two-thirds of it. The general trends here are not surprising, although the magnitude of differences does suggest the importance of equal access to the best facilities for people of equal ability.

The central financial support comparisons, with the most important mediating variables taken into account, are displayed in Table 4. There are somewhat larger differences by sex in this table than appeared in Table 3, although the directions remain thoroughly mixed. Men with the strongest background credentials appear almost completely subsidized, whereas top women must use significant private resources. However, the number of male cases is very small, and in any event women in this category do equally well where the most desirable sources of support are concerned. Women of intermediate honors levels do significantly better than males of comparable credentials. Among the most numerous cases in the "no honors" category, women fare slightly worse than men, although here again differences are small and within sampling error. All told, including a number of other explorations beyond the results shown in Table 4, there seems to be very little case for systematic differences in the bounty of graduate subsidization between men and women. Women actually fare better than men overall, as they should in a rational system that rewards credentials. When their superior credentials are controlled away, sex differences nearly vanish.

Thus at each point in the graduate instruction process where objective comparisons are available to us, it is hard to find much cause for alarm. We should keep in mind that we have only surveyed here those women who have already survived the first serious professional hurdles into graduate school, and it is possible that a significant winnowing has already occurred along sex lines at those gates. However, the women within our field of view have thus far shown few signs of lack of competence or enthusiasm. It certainly cannot be said that their aspirations, by comparison with men, have been toned down to lower levels where choice of graduate schools is concerned (Table 3). Nonetheless, they do express strong apprehensions about their future chances. To evaluate those apprehensions, we must turn to "the future just past."

The Status of Women as Professional Academics

Ideally, we should look next at the gateways into adult teaching roles, and more especially since those gateways are perceived as the points where discrimination by sex tends to concentrate in the discipline. As we have explained, however, the limitations of our design make any close inspection rather difficult. Clearly the adult female professionals who gave us questionnaires represent only a remnant of women who once did graduate work in political science. As one modest symptom of that attrition, the proportion of women with Phi Beta Kappas proceeds from 21% in our graduate sample to 37% among our practicing professionals. On the other hand, the fact that the parallel progression between our male samples is from 8% to 35% serves to remind us that substantial attrition occurs everywhere. In point of fact, our examination of adult professionals will provide us some indirect view of the differential workings of placement service and initial job consideration. However, we shall start our review with the less complex matter of faculty salaries, also a sore point in the materials on perceived discrimination.

Our male and female professional samples are somewhat more balanced in raw size than was the case for the student samples. We are dealing with 386 cases for the women, and 145 for the men. About 20% of both samples are either not working or are

Table 5 Types of Institutions where Academic Professionals Are Located, by Sex

		Women	Men
PUBLIC*			
	Undergraduate & Graduate	52.5%	57.0%
	Undergraduate Only	6.1	9.6
PRIVATE NON-DENOMINATIONAL			
	Coed Undergrad & Graduate	12.4	16.7
	Undergraduate Only	2.7	3.5
	Not Coed Undergrad & Graduate	1.7	0.0
	Undergraduate Only	3.4	3.5
PRIVATE DENOMINATIONAL			
	Coed Undergrad & Graduate	5.4	7.0
	Undergraduate Only	10.4	2.6
	Not Coed Undergrad & Graduate	2.0	0.0
	Undergraduate Only	3.4	0.0
		100.0%	100.0%

* Public institutions represented in our sample are almost exclusively coeducational.

located in nonacademic institutions, however. Since our primary focus in this portion of the report is upon the relative status of women in standard academic roles, we shall restrict our attention to the 310 women and 116 men with working connections to academic institutions.

The distribution of these academic professionals by types of institution, as shown in Table 5, implies somewhat less radical sex differences than folklore would typically suggest. However, there are optical illusions on both sides that help to explain the difference. It is clear, for example, that the sex ratio in the kinds of political science departments represented in the last three rows of Table 5 must be dramatically different from that which pertains in large public and non-denominational schools, even keeping in mind that women academic professionals are a small minority overall in any event. And the casual observer tends to think of academic institutions as somewhat equal units, even though it might take the combined faculties of thirty small schools of the type near the bottom of Table 5 to match the faculty size at a single giant institution. Thus his sense of what goes on at "colleges" he knows is likely to overweight the situations of the smaller institutions.

More intensive examination of the deployment of our two samples shows that women professionals are indeed heavily concentrated at smaller schools, in a degree even beyond that which Table 5 already implies. Thus, for example, within the set of academic professionals at public institutions with graduate schools (row one of Table 5), the average size of institution is visibly smaller where women are concerned. On the other hand, there is a good deal less than perfect equation between size and quality, and while males are on balance more likely to populate the higher-quality institutions, quality differences tend generally to be less impressive than those associated with institution size, due in no small part to a number of small but prestigious schools that are or have until recently been restricted to women students.

Table 5 might be thought to have a good deal of bearing on problems of differential job placement of men and women, and of course it is not irrelevant to that issue. However, inferences should not be made from it too lightly. Academic professionals whose institutional characteristics are known to us

show exactly the same proportion of men and women who are Phi Beta Kappa, but members of our male sample are somewhat more likely to have completed their doctorates (82%, as against 73% for women).[7] People of both sexes without doctorates tend to pile up in undergraduate institutions, and some—although not all—of the raw differences in proportions of men and women at these institutions can be traced directly to this fact. Other special circumstances of this kind affect the relative deployment of men and women, and we shall postpone further comment on placement until a later point.

Now that we have some initial familiarity with our two professional samples, let us turn directly to the issue of comparative salaries. Taken in raw form, the sex differences in salary are quite shocking. Our academic males report an average annual gross salary of $17,000.[8] The parallel figure for our academic women—all of them employed—is only $10,500, or less than five-eights as much. However, there is a host of mitigating circumstances that must be taken into account before comparisons become at all meaningful. The first and most obvious is that some part-time salaries are included in these reports for both men and women, but their incidence is much higher among women. Less than 6% of our academic males have part-time appointments, whereas the figure is a full 30% among the academic women. If we limit ourselves to full-time women, then the average annual salary increases to $11,820. If we drop the handful of academic males who are part-time, however, average income among the remainder is *less:* $16,560, instead of $17,000. Clearly there is not much similarity in the part-time syndrome for academic males and females. The part-time academic male tends to be "moonlighting": he has some other job in business or government, and maintains a partial academic location either for diversion or for supplemental income or both. The part-time woman typically holds no other position in the labor force, so that her total income is truly a partial wage and visibly below that of her full-time sisters.

In any event, the gap between the salaries of full-time academic males and full-time academic females is somewhat narrowed, but still remains substantial. From this point on we shall limit our attention mainly to full-time academic personnel of both sexes. We do so with hesitation because many women in the profession—nearly one-third of academics—find themselves, by choice or otherwise, in part-time employment, and any full view of the status of women in the profession would be obliged to take their positions, which tend to be severely disadvantaged, into account.[9] However, we have little choice but to reduce our focus at this point to full-time academic women because we wish to talk of the status of women relative to that of men, and so very few men in our sample are part-time (N of 7) that they provide no adequate basis for further comparison.

Among the set of full-time academics, women continue to differ from men in other background characteristics that help to "explain away" their lower annual income. We have already noted that women are less likely to have completed their doctorates, and this holds true for full-time people (77.5% of women, but 83.5% of men). The women in our sample also report less discipline-related professional work experience than comparable full-time academic males. Part of this latter difference is due to the fact that the women's sample is, for whatever reason, considerably younger

7 Again, it would be unwise to take these figures for doctorate completion as representative of abiding sex differences. The proportion of our female professional sample which was thirty years of age or less at the time of the study is about 10% greater than is true of the male professional sample. Thus when these younger cohorts have run their course a little longer, the differences in proportion of completions is likely to narrow at least somewhat.

8 All of our average salary figures are estimated from data originally grouped in nine income classes.

9 In view of the fact that we had earlier discarded about 20% of our female sample not in academic positions, the further discard of women who are part-time or whose time fraction was not ascertained sharply reduces our field of view to about half of the women in the original sample.

Table 6 Annual Incomes for Full-Time Academic People

	WOMEN		MEN
	Ever Married	Never Married	
With Doctorate	$11,683	$14,709	$16,950
(N)	(95)	(44)	(81)
Without Doctorate	$ 9,145	$ 9,110	$14,700
(N)	(29)	(10)	(16)

than the male sample. Part of the difference on the other hand springs from the fact that the item tapping work experience asks for "full-time equivalent" years, so that a woman working half-time for 10 years would only have accrued the equivalent of five years of full-time experience.

Nonetheless, taking some of these further factors into account still leaves a rather substantial income difference between the sexes, as Table 6 suggests. This table gives more than a little hint of the cash value of the doctorate for both sexes. Moreover, by splitting apart women according to whether they have ever been married or not, it helps to isolate a set of never-married women whose career lines can be expected to have been as continuous as those of men, and whose professional work experience therefore should be little excuse for decreased salaries. More detailed controls on years of professional work experience (not shown) still leaves women possessing doctorates short an average of about $3,750 a year relative to comparable males, and the contrasts are greater among those without a doctorate. In both instances, a rather intriguing pattern of income discrepancies begins to emerge. The smallest income differentials are those at the beginning of the career (less than 3 years of professional work experience, for example). The difference between the sexes expands very rapidly during the early middle years of the career (about 3-10 years), and then shrinks somewhat again thereafter.

Even though Table 6 takes quite a number of relevant male-female differences into account, it fails to consider one of the more important determinants of salary and promotion, the degree of research productivity. Victoria Schuck, examining articles published in leading journals in the discipline, programs of annual meetings and the like, has suggested that on most indices of professional activity men seem to produce at rates two to four times greater than those displayed by women.[10] If differentials of this magnitude were to hold between otherwise comparable groups in Table 6, it might become somewhat difficult to argue that the income differences are more than the systematic outcomes of a non-discriminatory incentive structure.

We asked our respondents for enumerations of their publications, including number of articles published (book reviews aside), books published, unpublished papers presented at professional meetings, etc. The gross results accord reasonably well with the less direct Schuck estimates, despite the different data base. Taking all academics, for example (not merely full-time), women report an average of 2.56 published articles, while men report an average of 5.54, for a ratio of slightly more than two to one. In order to express more fully the range of possible intellectual products, an index was created giving each unpublished paper a weight of one; each published article a weight of two; and each published book a weight of eight. All academic men showed an average of 22.0 on this index, as compared to 9.9 for all academic women, again almost the same ratio.

10 Victoria Schuck, *op. cit.*

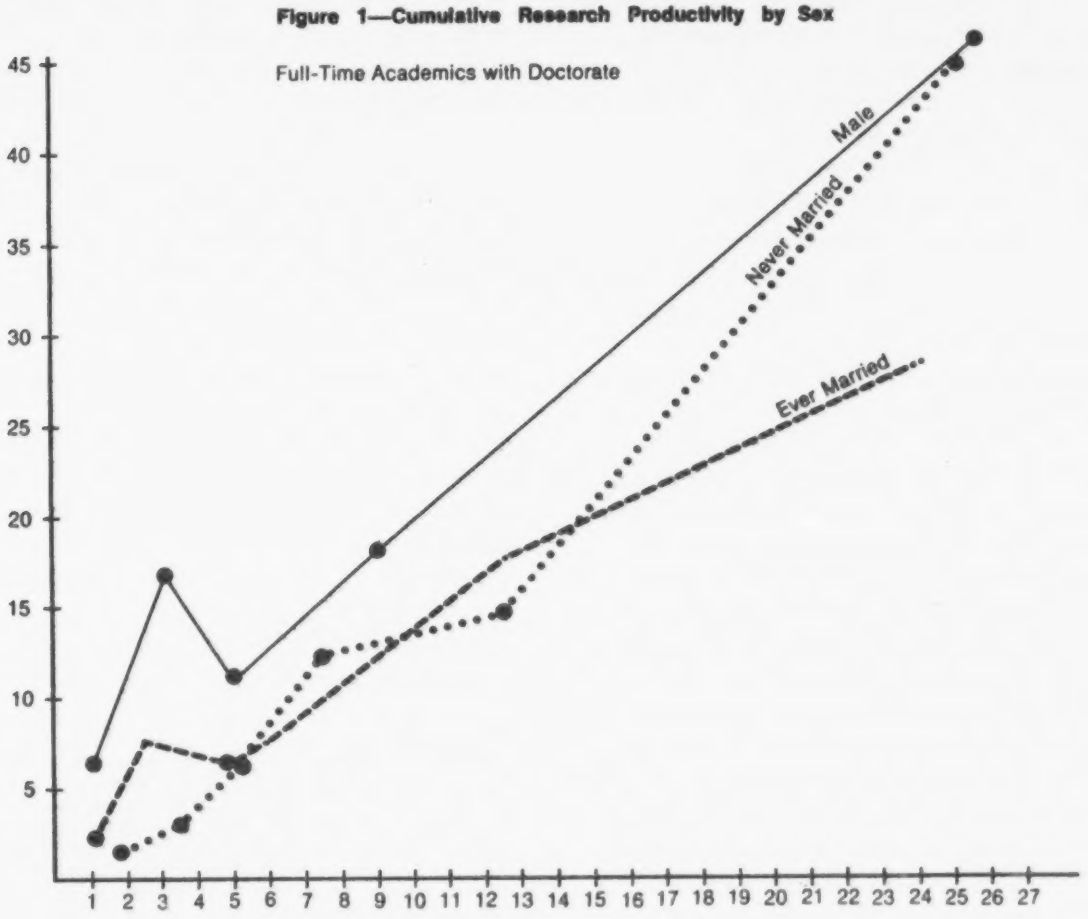
Needless to say, it is important to bring other considerations to bear on these publication data, such as the greater frequency of part-time status among women, fewer years of professional work experience and the like. However, even with these other factors controlled, men seem to outproduce women by a factor of roughly two to one.

Most intriguing are the data which track research productivity as it cumulates for men and women by years of professional work experience. The initial differences favor the men but are fairly small. In the early middle years, male productivity leaps far ahead of that for comparable women. In the later period, however, women regain some portion of the lost ground, although they never catch up to men in the aggregate. In other words, this is exactly the same temporal pattern that we already noted for the evolution of sex differences in income over the years of the career.

What causes this early lag in productivity among women, compared to their male peers? At first glance, the answer might seem obvious: the early career years are also the central child-rearing years, a fact which would easily account for a lesser concentration on research during this period. However, such an hypothesis would not be relevant for academic women who have never married, and it is easy to verify whether an early lag or dropping out differentially characterizes the productivity record of women who have been married.

Somewhat to our surprise, Figure 1 (limited to full-time academics) shows no confirmation whatever of these expectations. Beyond minor sampling wrinkles, women of both

Figure 1—Cumulative Research Productivity by Sex



marital statuses appear to produce at much the same rates, and consistently lower than men, over about the first half of the normal career. Moreover, the later gain in cumulated productivity which women achieve relative to men is not, as we fully expected, due to the latter-day freedoms gained by married women after their children gain self-sufficiency or leave home. Instead, it occurs almost exclusively among the set of women who have never married, and whose careers have therefore been more similar to those of males from the outset.

Hence the productivity lag is not so easily explained, and we must look elsewhere to account for it. Before we do, however, let us for the moment take the gap in productivity as a given and ask in what degree it accounts for sex differences in income. With very stringent controls on our "index of professional visibility" (the weighted index of books, papers and articles), average male income continues to outrun that for women among full-time academics. The differences are necessarily smaller than those in Table 6, averaging less than $1,400 for the "never married" women with doctorates, and about $3,600 for women who are or have been married. When the lesser years of female professional experience not already reflected in productivity differences are taken into account, the unexplained gap in income by sex diminishes slightly further, but remains fairly consequential.

To summarize, then: while at first glance it appears that academic women only receive about 60% of the remuneration given to academic men, a variety of factors including part-time work for females, lesser degree completion and slower research productivity account for a significant portion of the income differences. Nevertheless, there remains an income decrement for females relative to males who are comparable to them in a wide range of regards. It is particularly marked for women who have married, but appears to be present even for women who have never married and whose career trajectories are thus most like those of their male colleagues. Such women in the profession seem to receive only about 90% of the income given comparable males.

In any assessment of this kind there is always the possibility that further unmeasured factors exist which could account for the remainder of the differentials in income by sex without invoking blatant discrimination. There is, for example, some slippage in academic incomes arising from the frequent option to remain on an academic or research payroll during the summer months, thus increasing annual salary by a factor like two-ninths. It could be argued that women may be less likely to take such an option than men: married women might avoid the arrangement to be with children home from school, and unmarried women without dependents might feel less economic pressure to continue work in the summer. On the other hand, the summer option is much more likely to be available in large schools than in the smaller institutions where women tend to be assembled, so that it becomes a moot point whether summer supplementation of salary is an equally free choice for men and women. Unfortunately, we failed to collect information on the availability or the use of such an option, and cannot evaluate its effects here.

Nevertheless, as far as we can carry our inquiry there remain significant differentials by sex in annual incomes after a wide variety of extenuating circumstances are dutifully taken into account.[11] Certainly the evidence for discrimination in this domain holds up much more convincingly than anything we have seen with regard to the objective facts of graduate instruction. Hence the relatively frequent perception of discrimination registered among professional

11 This includes some factors we have not mentioned, which were examined but discarded because they failed to account for much sex differentiation. People with undergraduate honors (Phi Beta Kappa) tend to receive better placements and draw higher incomes, other things equal. However, among full-time academics the sex differences in such past honors are trivial. Similarly, it is true that women tend to teach at smaller academic institutions, a factor that might seem to account for lower salaries. However, among the set of full-time males there is remarkably little correlation between institution size and salary.

women where salary is concerned (Table 1) has considerable claim to an objective basis.

Promotion. We shall deal in more cursory fashion with rates of promotion, since much the same sequence of argumentation as we have presented for salary pertains again here. The academic women in our sample are distributed at lower ranks on the whole than are the men. However, their more frequent part-time status must be taken into account, along with the several other factors. Considering only academics with full-time appointments who currently possess a doctoral degree, Table 7 provides a rough estimate of some of the time lags in promotion that women appear to encounter relative to men. Again we see the pattern of small initial differences which widen markedly and then diminish at least somewhat toward the end of the process.

Table 7 does not, however, make any effort to control for higher male research productivity during the early middle years when rank is relatively "elastic". When such controls are levied the differences in Table 7 naturally diminish somewhat, but are not completely removed. Overall, it seems likely that some of the watchdog functions of the A.A.U.P., which proceed without regard for sex, may help to minimize disparities in rank, particularly for full-time academics with lengthy service. In the initial career stages, however, the early spurt of male productivity helps to produce substantial if temporary discrepancies in ranks. However, there is in addition some early discrepancy which remains unaccounted for and must be seen to be, as with salary, a potential symptom of discrimination.

Initial Placement. At this point we have two residual concerns, with a strong possibility that they may be related. We have not as yet considered the objective facts surrounding initial placement, as best they may be seen in our limited data. We also have failed to explain, up to this point, why academic women seem to lag in research productivity in the early years relative to the track record of male academics. The possible relationship is that if women received particularly unfavorable initial placements, it might account for an early lag in productivity as well. We shall close this report with some consideration of these possibilities.

We collected a very limited amount of data concerning the respondent's first job, including its academic status, full or part-time nature, and the rough distribution of time allocations to research, teaching and other kinds of activity. The obvious hypothesis is that women are downgraded in the initial placement process, ending up in undesirable academic locations with heavy teaching loads and few research opportunities. Until they can find better positions, their productivity is necessarily limited.

When we consider the balance of time reported for research and teaching in connection with the first job, we do indeed find differences between men and women which run in the general direction predicted

Table 7 Apparent Lags in Promotion for Full-Time Academic Women with Doctorates

	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Full Professor
Most rapidly-promoted 25%	——	—1.5 yrs.*	—5.5 yrs.
Most rapidly-promoted 50%	——	—3.0 yrs.	—3.6 yrs.
Most rapidly-promoted 75%	—1.1 yrs.	—5.4 yrs.	——

* This cell entry means that the first 25% of a cohort of full-time academic women to be promoted to associate professor arrive at this point after about 1½ more years of professional experience than the first 25% of a cohort of full-time academic males.

by the hypothesis. However, they are very small differences at best. For example, males currently in academic jobs report that their first jobs demanded 57% of their total work time be given over to teaching, with 26% available for research. Women currently in academic jobs, on the other hand, report that their first jobs involved an average allocation of 60% of their time for teaching, with 20% available for research. It is hard to imagine that differences as limited as this could account for a male productivity which in these early years outweighs female research output by a margin of three or more to one.

Nevertheless, women express much lower levels of satisfaction with their first jobs than do men. The difference in feelings about the initial placement are even more marked among those men and women who currently boast doctorates, despite the fact that sex differences in the research-teaching balance of the first jobs are even smaller here than those cited above. Clearly there are significant problems in initial placements received by women that are not expressed by the relative proportions of work time available for research.

Some part of the extra dissatisfaction of women with their first jobs is fairly easy to trace. Of those married women now possessing doctoral degrees, a full third had only part-time jobs at the outset (as opposed to 8% of comparable males), and there is some tendency for early dissatisfaction to be concentrated among these part-time academic wives. We have no way of determining whether the part-time nature of the first appointment was a matter of choice for the married woman or a last resort. However, the dissatisfaction with the placement strongly suggests that it was not chosen for the "flexibility" provided, and the limited contact with the discipline may well account for sparse research output in the earlier professional years.

However well these pieces may fit together, they cast no light on the situation for the majority of women with full-time initial appointments and competitive proportions of research time, who also show less satisfaction with their first jobs than men, as well as lagging publication rates. Since women generally tend to be placed in smaller academic institutions, as we have seen, it is rather surprising that the sheer proportions of research time available to them match those for males as nearly as they do. However, it is possible that our measure of time proportions open for research fails to capture a variety of other factors at smaller institutions, including limited research facilities, collegial stimulation, and competitive pressure, which contribute both to job dissatisfaction and low research output among women.

While it is plausible that small-school placement has some causal implications for research productivity, we have the additional evidence from Figure 1 that unmarried women, who bulk large among those with initial full-time appointments, do regain significant publication ground on their male counterparts in later years. If these women had initial placements in small schools but then migrated in substantial numbers to larger schools as time wore on, the functional association between initial placement in small schools and early lag in research output would become quite compelling. However, signs of such migration are not noteworthy: the relative publication rate among these older women seems higher despite continued small-school locations.

There are at least two effects which undoubtedly contribute to this seeming relative spurt in female productivity in later years. The first is somewhat ironic where discrimination by sex is concerned. While both male and female academics achieve some reduction in their teaching loads as they advance in rank and professional experience, older males are at the same time drawn off increasingly into administrative activity. In one sense, these career paths of males may signify a further form of discrimination against women. On the other hand, many would consider this selection toward administration at the very most a mixed

blessing, and women may actually profit from it in relative research productivity.

The second source of the late spurt seems reasonable but remains speculative. There is reason to believe from other work on the problem that women continue to drop out from academic careers well after the completion of a degree and initial participation in postdoctoral teaching roles. Some of this dropping out may well arise from personal factors and be independent of variations in the professional situation. Nonetheless, it would be entirely reasonable to assume that dropout rates would also be relatively high among women whose early job placements are unfavorable, either because they are part-time or in some other sense lack promise for career development or intellectual growth.

This aspect of the winnowing process would progressively withdraw from our view the women of lower demonstrated research productivity. The older survivors in the discipline would then tend to show higher rates of productivity not because of any individual spurts in output, but because of simple "composition effects."

Whether unfavorable initial placement does or does not account for the early lags in research output among women, the fact remains that women do show a very distinct lack of enthusiasm about the first jobs they received in the discipline. Given the levels of talent that seem to mark the cohorts of graduate women, the disappointment in itself constitutes some indictment of the processes involved. While our study could not be designed for the kind of longitudinal tracing necessary to follow these processes in any incisive way, the central role of initial placement as a special problem for women receives some documentation here.

Summary

By and large, there seems to be a very satisfying fit between the perceptions of discrimination abroad in the discipline among both males and females, and the objective evidence we have been able to develop on the basis of our survey. In a nutshell, we have found only limited concern about discrimination on grounds of sex within the graduate training process taken alone, and our objective materials fail to display signs of any marked discrimination at this stage as well. On the other hand, there seems to be substantial suspicion of discrimination in the workings of the academic marketplace and in career progress for women in conventional college teaching roles. Although our study design was not tailored to address biases in the initial placement process, it is clear that the transition from student status to adult teaching roles is not a pleasant experience for most women, and the prospective alarm felt by current cohorts of graduate women cannot be lightly dismissed. Moreover, while it is true that virtually no "objective" evidence for discrimination can be considered absolutely unequivocal, there are decrements in both the annual incomes and promotion progress of women teaching in political science which cannot readily be attributed to other obvious factors than sex itself.

While there are obviously other principles involved than sheer efficiency, it might be observed that these patterns taken as a whole are not impressively "rational." If substantial investments are being made in providing something approaching equal graduate training for women, that portion of their subsequent underutilization which is not a matter of volition on the part of the women themselves seems an unequivocal waste.

In sum, both the consensus in the discipline as to points where sex discrimination is most likely to be found, as well as the match between these perceptions and more objective calculations, seem to present a sufficiently coherent picture that priorities for remedial policies are not hard to establish.

Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations[1]

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A systematic study of the role of women academics in political science waits to be done. Evidence compiled from documentary sources, the results of a recent questionnaire sent to political science department chairmen, and statistics provided by biographical information in the 1968 *Directory* of the APSA suggest a certain patterning in the educational and academic life. But the gross statistics also raise questions which deserve further research.

Women have always been a part of the profession of political science. One present member of the APSA reports having received her Ph.D. in 1910, seven years after the Association was founded. Data on dissertations reveal that the first generation of female political scientists constituted a rather exclusive band who sought graduate work and published along with their male fellow scholars. Between 1912 and 1920 women wrote seven of the 125 dissertations in political science which were published. From one or two a year published in that period, the number increased to four or five, or a total of 11.7 percent, in the decade of the '20s and early '30s (1920-1933).[2]

The first generation of women political scientists came of age with the successful drive for women's suffrage and the flourishing of women's colleges. Having achieved doctoral degrees and gained academic positions, they concluded that a woman henceforth need only qualify herself professionally to win recognition commensurate with her qualifications and abilities. They believed by the end of the '20s that sex discrimination was buried; what counted were the qualifications of the individual.[3]

Two developments in the '30s and '40s coupled with a changed view of woman's role in the society in the late '40s and throughout the '50s, led to "the great withdrawal" of professional women from academic pursuits generally and political science specifically. First there was the depression when resources for graduate financing were scarce, and when career expectations for women were often nonexistent because of the one-job-per-family rule and that normally for the male. Secondly there were the distractions of the war, and finally in its aftermath developed the attitude that the role of women should be to return to "real values" and "real femininity" — that women were greater powers for good when exerting their influence on children and the home rather than competing with men.[4]

The proportion of women receiving doctorates in political science from the mid '30s through the '50s would seem to corroborate these conclusions. It is true that in terms of absolute numbers — and they are always small — no diminution has taken place in the total number of women awarded Ph.D.'s in political science in any decade.[5] Indeed, except for the twenty-year period 1930-1949, when numbers barely increased, the total number of women awarded degrees in political science doubled and redoubled in each ten-year period. At the same time, the ratio of women to men receiving doctorates fell from the peaks of 9.7 percent in the second half of the '20s and 10.0 in the first half of the '30s to 5.8 in the '50s and remained substantially below the proportion of women awarded Ph.D.'s in all fields, political science and other.[6] (See Table 1.)

The arresting in the '60s of the decline in political science degrees awarded to women is attributable to the number of women receiving doctorates in 1967 and 1968, which is within a percentage point of the total proportion of Ph.D.'s awarded to women in all fields.[7] The increasing numbers have come at a time of resurgence in radical politics coincidentally supporting a stronger role for women. A result has been greatly increased pressures for women to act as a group. Unlike the women of the '20s, the women of the '60s do not wish to leave the role definition of women in political science solely to individuals.[8] They wish to define the role collectively.

1 The writer is indebted to James M. Bruce and Marjorie S. Childers of the Sociology Department at Mount Holyoke College for their suggestions on the presentation of the data; to Mae C. King, Staff Associate of the APSA for obtaining statistics on women members of the Association from the 1968 *Biographical Directory;* and to Nan W. Bauer, Sandra K. Borys, Susan A. Shapiro, Holly Sidford, and Gill B. Singer, Mount Holyoke undergraduates for assisting in the processing of the questionnaire.

2 The total includes theses listed in political science, international law and relations, and public administration. Institutions awarding Ph.D.'s customarily required publication until the early '30s when the practice began to wane. The Library of Congress list of printed doctoral dissertations began in 1912 and is used as a source through 1933.

3 The testimony of several faculty women, American and European, who received their Ph.D.'s in the 1920's.

4 See Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women,* Pennsylvania Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.

5 The median number of Ph.D.'s won by women 1940-1949 was 5, minimum 1 and maximum 14. For 1950-1959, median 11.5, maximum 15 and minimum 7. For 1960-1968, median 21, maximum 65, and minimum 12.

6 Figures for Ph.D.'s completed do not always agree. In the '20s, '30s, and '40s, when reports were biennial, the annual figures were arrived at by interpolation. See "Earned Doctorates in the Social

Departmental Culture:									
The intellectual stimulation provided by your graduate training	20.0	29.8	22.4	5.6	8.0	7.0	6.6	0.0	0.6
The intellectual climate in your department	13.0	29.1	18.2	7.8	14.0	10.4	6.2	0.8	0.4
The prestige of your department	18.2	24.8	16.4	14.2	10.8	9.4	3.0	2.8	0.4
The voice graduate students have in influencing the department's policy	8.2	21.6	12.8	16.2	13.0	14.8	11.6	1.2	0.6
The opportunity for independent thought and action at your school	17.6	33.6	13.6	9.0	16.0	5.0	4.0	0.8	0.4
The work and study interaction with your fellow students	11.8	24.8	16.4	10.8	18.0	9.8	5.8	1.8	0.8
The social interaction with your fellow students	9.8	28.6	12.8	19.0	12.4	7.4	4.8	4.4	0.8
The academic performance of your fellow students	7.4	32.0	16.0	21.8	11.8	6.4	2.2	2.0	0.4
The intelligence of your fellow students	12.2	42.4	12.4	16.2	9.8	4.0	1.8	0.4	0.8
The degree to which the department lived up to your expectations	11.8	32.0	14.4	7.4	16.2	10.2	6.0	1.4	0.6
Facilities:									
The libraray facilities	18.2	26.4	10.2	5.6	12.2	13.0	13.2	0.2	0.4
The study space available to you	22.4	27.8	7.2	6.8	9.4	11.4	10.0	4.4	0.6
The recreational and cultural facilities provided by your university	16.8	26.2	12.6	16.0	8.0	8.8	4.6	6.2	0.8
The overall physical plant at your university	16.2	32.0	14.4	16.8	8.4	4.2	4.8	2.4	0.8
The recreational and cultural facilities available in the city in which your university is located	28.2	19.8	10.0	7.8	9.6	10.8	11.6	1.6	0.6
Individual:									
Your overall graduate training	6.8	44.6	20.8	3.8	11.4	9.4	2.4	0.4	0.4
Your anticipated future as a political scientist	11.8	37.0	19.4	11.4	9.8	4.8	3.2	1.8	0.8
Your decision to become a political scientist	30.2	41.0	9.6	7.0	6.6	2.6	1.4	1.2	0.4
The progress you are making toward your degree	17.2	40.0	11.8	6.0	11.6	7.2	4.6	1.0	0.6
Your social life	23.8	36.4	11.4	8.6	8.6	5.6	1.6	3.8	0.2
Your income in relation to your needs	14.4	25.4	10.2	6.4	17.6	11.8	8.4	4.8	1.0

*The committee gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Edward Levine and colleagues, Department of Psychology, NYU.
** Four items dealing with assistants and their relations with their supervisors were not included in the analysis because over 40% indicated the items were not applicable.

Questionnaire

The APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, appointed in March 1969, sent a questionnaire to chairmen of political science departments and graduate schools last May. The Committee asked four questions: the number of faculty in political science and the distribution by rank and sex; the number of undergraduate majors by sex; the number of M. A. and Ph.D. candidates by sex; and the number of students applying for admission to graduate school for the fall term 1969-70 and the number accepted, by sex.

Replies to one round of mailing came from 473 chairmen or 51.4 percent of the total mailing list of the Association. In some geographic areas fewer colleges and universities responded than in others. The greatest proportion of nonreplies came from the South and so called border states (59.1 and 54.7 percent respectively). Next in descending order of response were institutions located in New England (48.7 percent), the Middle Atlantic states (46.3), the Midwest (44.1), Southwest (43.7) and Mountain states (38.0). The Northwest produced the fewest nonreplies (36 percent).

In terms of size and character of departments, 59 percent of the nonreplies are from institutions with no faculty in political science (31.9 percent) or from institutions with faculty in combined departments (history and political science or social sciences, 27.3 percent). Although institutions with no political science or combined departments are statistically overrepresented, the no-department replies do not affect results of the present investigation. Those with combined departments are difficult to separate for analysis and have little effect on results. The only other category which is overrepresented comprises small institutions

Sciences . . . by Subject and Institution," *American Universities and Colleges* 8th-10th ed., 1966-1968, pp. 1692-1693; U. S. Library of Congress, Catalog Division, *A List of Doctoral Dissertations. . . .* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1921 ff.; *Index to American Doctoral Dissertations, Combined with Dissertation Abstracts. . . .* Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1958 ff.; U.S. Office of Education, *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions,* 1955-56, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956 ff. If these sources were used, the percent of Ph.D.'s received by females in political science would look like this:

1912-1920	5.9 (7)	1940-1949	6.4 (52)
1921-1929	10.1 (19)	1950-1959	5.8 (113)
1930-1939	8.8 (45)	1960-1968	8.6 (234)

The percent of females receiving Ph.D.'s in the entire country would look like this:

1912-1920	12.6 (647)	1940-1949	14.1 (4450)
1921-1929	14.6 (1607)	1950-1959	9.8 (8239)
1930-1939	14.7 (4035)	1960-1968	11.3 (15.550)

For Table 1, the National Academy of Sciences tables were selected as the most consistent through 1961.

7 The proportion of women in political science was 9.7 percent in 1967; for the country at large 11.3 in 1967; 11.4 percent for political science in 1968; and 12.5 for the country in 1968.

8 The rejection of the "feminine mystique" and the ingesting of the middle aged woman into the labor force, both phenomena being forerunners of the present professional movements, began in the early '60's. Women in professional groups have sought and been sought by the radical left groups. A petition at the fall meeting of the Association in 1968 urged the APSA Council to establish a special commission for the study of the status of women within the profession. The Caucus for a New Political Science elected a woman to its governing offices in 1968. The Caucus submitted a resolution of the status of women for consideration of the APSA Council in the spring of 1969. A representative of the Caucus in consultation with the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession worked out a modification of the resolution, and this was approved with some additions at the business meeting of the Association in New York in September 1969. See as typical of popular discussion "Woman's Changing Role in America," in U.S. News and World Report, September 8, 1969, pp. 44-46; Sherry Petchul, "Woman's Liberation, the Longest Revolution?" in Christian Science Monitor, October 7, 1969.

Data on Women in the Profession from the National Register Survey*

Total Political Responses	5176	
Women Responses	474	
Degrees Held		
Ph.D.	207	
M.A.	251	
B.A.	14	
No Report	2	
Type of Employer		
Educational Institution	333	
Federal Government	25	
Other Government	14	
Non-Profit	26	
Business and Industry	7	
Self-Employed	5	
Military	1	
Other	3	
Not employed	51	
No Report	9	
Years of Employment and Salary		
Years		**Median Salary**
1 or less	54	$8200
2-4	130	8800
5-9	100	9500
10-14	39	11900
15-19	27	
20-24	22	
25-29	12	
30-34	16	
35-39	6	
40+	7	
No Report	61	
Salary		$9700
Overall Women		
Ph.D. Median		11000
M.A. Median		8500

*As part of the continuing series of reports of data from the APSA-NSF Register Project, the following information is provided to political scientists. An extensive article on the subject follows.

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with faculty from one to five members, including especially the private women's college and private coeducational institutions. This group, representing 25.4 percent of the nonrespondents, might affect the sample if institutions not replying have no women faculty. But no evidence of this effect has appeared, nor is there reason to believe that the nonrespondents differ substantially from the sample.[9]

Replies have been classified by size of department and type of institution — whether private or public, coeducational, women's or men's, and whether offering undergraduate work only or both undergraduate and graduate degrees. Undergraduate and graduate enrollments for 1968-69 and admission figures for the fall of 1969 are also tabulated. The purpose is to determine whether these variables are related to the presence or absence of women faculty and women students.

The survey covers 473 departments of political science ranging from 0 faculty to 63, with a total of 4,401 members. (See Table 2.) Seven colleges report no faculty in political science. Public coeducational institutions make up 44 percent of the sample; private coeducational, 36; and private women's and men's institutions, about 16 percent. The "other" category includes public institutions for men when these are not specifically noted.
If one looks first at the table indicating the number of departments with and without women members, one sees that more than half report none. As Table 3 indicates, women are by no means evenly distributed among institutions which do have female faculty (49.5 percent). The distribution depends on the type and size of college or university. Some 76 percent of the institutions having women are in the "small department" categories (0-15). There appears to be no significant difference between the percentages provided by public and private coeducational colleges in the "small department" categories. But the larger the department, the more likely it is to have women. The largest public coeducational institutions — state universities and city universities — all report having women on the faculty. The major difference however is not one of size but type of institution; more all-women's colleges have women faculty than do all other kinds of institutions. On faculties of institutions exclusively for men, women are clearly underrepresented.

If one examines the table (see 4a) showing the ratio of women to men faculty members in all kinds of institutions, it is equally clear that the small departments have the highest proportion of women. The 1969 questionnaire shows women's colleges having two women faculty for every one elsewhere. In the same year the private men's college would seem to be almost impossible of access for a woman faculty member. Moreover the larger the department, the smaller the proportion of women in political science would seem to be. Table 4b reveals proportionately more women than men teaching in institutions which offer undergraduate work only. The table implies 44.4 percent of women in strictly undergraduate institutions, and 29.0 men faculty teaching undergraduates only.

What about the rank of women on college faculties? Tables 5 and 6 indicate that if most institutions do not have women to begin with, those that do usually have no more than one or two. The size of the institution makes little difference to the proportion. One might think that the larger the department, the more women in each rank, but with few exceptions this is not so. Most women, in all institutions, are concentrated in the lower ranks. Although the rank of instructor is disappearing, the ratio of women to men on this level is two to one. As numbers of all faculty in all ranks increase, it is still less and less likely that there will be more than one woman in each except in that of assistant professor. A woman who is a full professor is almost an exception; tenured positions at all levels appear to be a masculine preserve. In short, tokenism is the prevailing pattern, other than in the women's colleges, and in few of them do women constitute a majority in a department.[10]

9 The writer wishes to express appreciation to the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession for use of the data which are available with the permission of the Committee.
The nonresponse from institutions in the 6-10 faculty group was 8.3 percent; in the 11-15 group, 2.5 percent; in the 16-25; 3.7 percent; and in the 26+, 92 percent. The faculty members in the nonresponding combined departments total 921 and in other nonresponding departments 1,101, making a grand total of 2,022. Faculty data on nonresponding departments, compiled from American *Universities and Colleges,* 10th edition, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1968.
Seventy-five women's colleges, many of which are church related, did not respond. Some 47 of them have no political science faculty or have a combined department. Eighteen in the 1-5 faculty range did not respond.

10 It should be noted that the maximum number of women reported was seven at San Fernando Valley State College in California, which is in the 26+ grouping. Two institutions have six women: San Jose State College and Brooklyn College, each in the 26+ faculty category. Three institutions report five women each: Michigan State University in the 26+ category; California State College at Fullerton and the University of Minnesota School of Public Administration in the 16-25 group. Eleven institutions report 4 faculty women each: Georgetown,

The "differential access" to scholarship and teaching which the above paragraphs and tables bring out might be indicated by another measurement. If one takes the twenty departments described as "distinguished" or the ten producing the greatest number of doctorates, and compares the proportion of women by rank at these institutions with all others in the sample, the smaller proportion of women in the prestigious ten or twenty becomes apparent. (See Table 7.)

But before one labels all of this discrimination by sex, it should be noted that the "withdrawal" of the '40s and '50s meant almost a couple of generations of women lost to research and teaching in political science. Then too the greater proportion of jobs in the small colleges means that women have heavier teaching schedules and less and less time as well as facilities for research.

Several explanations may account for the higher ratio of women in the lower untenured ranks: the recency of their appointments, their possession of fewer advanced degrees, and their youth. About as many have received doctorates in the present decade as in all the years from 1910 to 1959 (246 to 257).[11] Information presented in the *Biographical Directory* suggests the youthfulness of the women in the Association holding Ph.D.'s:[12]

Number and Years in Which Women Received Doctorates

Year	*Number*	*%*
1967-1960	117	56.0
1959-1950	52	24.9
1949-1940	16	7.7
1939-1930	17	8.1
1929-1920	7	3.3
(1910)	(1)	
	209	100.0

The total number of women in teaching, according to the 1968 *Directory,* is 404, or five percent of the entire professional membership — men and women. There is no knowing at this time how the Committee's sample, the membership data from the *Directory,* and the totals of women receiving graduate degrees as given in the Statistical Abstracts can be reconciled.

The pattern of appointments to academic positions may also be a reflection of the problem of meeting the requirements of a particular field. According to the *Directory,* the first fields of women in 1967 were:[13]

	Number	*%*
Public Administration	20	2.4
Political Theory — normative and historical	95	11.4
International Politics, Organization, Administration and Foreign Policy	113	13.6
American Government, Voting Behavior, Legislatures, Metropolitan Government, State and Local, Administration, Constitutional Law, etc.	113	13.6
Comparative Government and Political Development	490	59.0
	831	100.0

Whatever the reason — for example, the availability of foundation support and scholarships — which may have lured them into comparative governments and development, it has not always been easy to find the right women for teaching positions.

It is likely that the absolute numbers of professional women in political science, if not the proportion, will grow. The questionnaire produced the following totals of undergraduate majors which are indicative:[14]

Undergraduate Political Science Majors — Spring 1969

Number Females	*Number Males*	*% Females*	*No Breakdown Given*	*Total Enrollment*
11,670	38,661	23.2	8,051	58,381

The number of women in graduate school is considerably less — 17.5 percent of the over-all

Florida State, American, University of Maryland, Indiana University, UC at Berkeley, and the City University of New York, in the 26+ group; Montana State College of Mineral Science and Technology in the 11-15 group; and Barnard, Trinity College, and Tennessee State University at Nashville in the 6-10 group. Six women's colleges indicate a majority of women in their departments.

11 The National Science Foundation, National Register Survey for 1968 gives the number of women holders of Ph.D.'s as 207 and M.A.'s as 251 (474 responses).

12 Almost 39 percent of the women listed in the *Directory* gave no information about themselves. The data were compiled by Mae C. King, staff associate, APSA. Also see "Women in the Political Science Profession," Washington, D.C., APSA, October 1968 (mimeograph) and "Women in the Political Science Profession — 1969 Addition to the October 1968 Report," APSA, October 1969 (mimeograph).

13 *Ibid.* The category "American Govrnment . . ." is an ad hoc catch-all one, because the members in specific fields are too small to be meaningful otherwise. For comparisons with holders of doctorates in all fields see *P.S.* Winter 1969, vol. 2, pp. 12-13 and Summer 1969, vol. 2, p. 54. In 1963 Somit and Tanenhaus listed the proportion of political scientists in each field American Government, 48 percent; International Relations, 20 percent; Comparative Government and Political Theory, each 12 percent. See Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *American Political Science,* New York, New York, The Atherton Press, 1967, p. 54.

14 Eleven percent (53) of the institutions in the sample either listed "no major" (35) or omitted the number (18).

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graduate enrollment. (See Tables 8, 9.) Not all institutions gave a breakdown of their figures, but it is clear that there are more candidates for the M.A. (20.6 percent) than for the doctorate (14.7 percent).

The proportion of women admitted to graduate work for the fall of 1969 seems to have increased, for returns to the questionnaire indicate that they were 22.9 percent of the acceptances (they were 20.8 percent of the applicants). Put another way, 43.2 percent of the male applicants were accepted and 48.9 percent of the female. The most likely explanation for this ratio of women to men is that it represents a hedge against the draft — an assurance that graduate departments will maintain full programs throughout the year. (See Table 10.)

Increasingly the question is being asked, why the great disparity in the proportion of men and women in graduate work? A recent HEW study points to marriage, work begun immediately after graduation, and competing fields such as law and urban studies as partial answers.[15] It may well be inferred that many large graduate departments in political science have found women poor risks for limited fellowship money, because of the high drop-out rate for marriage. The very best women receive awards. But in the middle ranks, most departments place their bets on men.

There is the further question as to how much the socialization of the eventual graduate student in political science is dependent upon his having models among his undergraduate and graduate instructors in the field. Typically 50 percent of the graduate students in any field are drawn from undergraduate non-majors, and there is no information to indicate that graduate students in political science are any different.[16] And yet it is often argued that a woman needs role models to cite women as a reference group. Young women, it is contended, find incentives to study and scholarship in joining faculty women as well as men at the undergraduate and graduate level. The evidence provided by the questionnaire suggests that in small departments more women on the faculty will lead to more undergraduate majors, but as departments become larger, this pattern does not hold. Data on graduate enrollment show certain inconsistencies, although it may be possible to say that there are slightly more women candidates in departments where women are faculty members. (See Table 9.)

If the distribution suggests discrimination, this inference cannot be proved until more is learned from individual faculty members at every kind of institution about their experience in undergraduate and graduate school, and in teaching and research. More information is also necessary from graduate students about their backgrounds, characteristics, and education generally. Meanwhile, it may be remarked that the almost instinctive movement of women to form a Women's Caucus in the Association in the past year is a reaction to a minority position in the Association and also in the teaching ranks. But this minority status has a history and can be related to the age of women political scientists, their traditional minority status, and the kinds of institutions that appoint them. Over the years, the proportionate numbers of women in political science have dipped and then risen, so that they are now more in line with the proportion of doctorates granted over-all in the United States. The appointment of more than one or two women by some state colleges (albeit often converted teachers colleges) and by large state and city universities and the increased numbers admitted to candidacy for advanced degrees may well be more than straws in the wind. They may definitely presage alteration of the minority status for women. Only after further accumulation and study of all evidence and factors can the complexities of the whole question of women's role and prospects in political science be defined and met.

15 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Special Report on Women and Graduate Study, Resources for Medical Research*, Report No. 13, June 1968, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office.

16 *Ibid.*

Table 1. Number of Women Receiving Ph.D.'s — 1912-1968

	Ph.D.'s in Political Science			Total Ph.D.'s in U.S.		
Years	Female	Male and Female	% of Female	Female	Male and Female	% of Female
1912-19	7	118	5.9	4,525	554	12.2
1920-29	25	299	8.4	1,816	11,889	15.3
1930-39	53	568	9.3	3,763	25,586	14.7
1940-49	59	687	8.6	4,092	30,555	13.4
1950-59	113	1,953	5.8	8,208	82,814	9.9
1960-68	246	2,821	8.7	15,680	138,153	11.4

Source: National Academy of Science — National Research Council, *Doctorate Production in the United States Universities 1920-1962* . . . compiled by Lindsey R. Harmon and Herbert Soldz, Washington, D.C., Publication No. 1142, National Academy of Sciences; U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964 ff.

Source: Office of Scientific Personnel, *Summary Report 1968 Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities*, prepared in the Education Employment Section, Manpower Studies Branch, OSP-MS-Z, Ap. 1969, Washington, D.C.

Table 2. Number and Percent of Departments of Political Science by Size Responding to Questionnaire

Number of Faculty Members Size of Department	Number of Departments	% of Sample	Number of Faculty Members	% of Faculty Members	Faculty Average Size
0 - 5	230	48.6	685	15.6	3.0
6 - 10	102	21.6	749	17.0	7.3
11 - 15	65	13.7	827	18.8	12.7
16 - 25	39	8.3	786	17.8	20.2
26+	37	7.8	1,354	30.8	36.6
Total	473	100.0	4,401	100.0	9.3

Number of Institutions by Size of Department and Type of Institution

Size of Department	Public Coeducational Number	%	Private Coeducational Number	%	Private Women's College Number	%	Private Men's College Number	%	Other Number	%	Total
0 - 5	63	27.4	108	47.0	31	13.5	16	6.9	12	5.2	230
6 - 10	46	45.1	30	29.4	8	7.8	14	13.7	4	3.9	102
11 - 15	43	66.2	16	24.6	1	1.5	5	7.7	0	—	65
16 - 25	29	74.4	10	25.6	0	—	0	—	0	—	39
26+	27	73.0	6	16.2	0	—	3	8.1	1	2.7	37
Total	208	44.0	170	35.9	40	8.5	38	8.0	17	3.6	473

Table 3. Number and Percentage of Departments With Women on the Faculty

Size of Department	Public Coeducational With Females	%	Private Coeducational With Females	%	Private Women's College With Females	%	Private Men's College With Females	%	Other With Females	%	Total With Females	%
0 - 5	22	34.9	35	32.4	18	58.1	4	25.0	2	16.7	81	35.2
6 - 10	24	52.2	17	56.7	6	75.0	2	14.3	1	25.0	50	49.0
11 - 15	34	79.1	11	68.8	1	100.0	1	20.0	0	—	47	72.3
16 - 25	19	65.5	5	50.0	0	—	0	—	0	—	24	61.5
26+	27	100.0	4	66.7	0	—	1	33.3	0	—	32	86.5
Total	126	60.6	72	42.4	25	62.5	8	21.1	3	17.6	234	49.5

Table 4a. Number of Faculty Members by Size of Department and by Type of Institution

Size of Department		Public Coeducational		Private Coeducational		Private Women's College		Private Men's College		Public Men's College		Other		Total	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 5	Number	183	29	267	38	51	21	47	5	13	0	29	2	590	95
	Percent	86.3	13.7	87.5	12.5	70.8	29.2	90.4	9.6	100.0	—	93.5	6.5	86.1	13.9
6 - 10	Number	315	37	193	19	49	17	93	2	5	0	17	1	673	76
	Percent	89.5	10.5	91.0	9.0	74.2	25.8	97.9	2.1	100.0	—	94.4	5.6	89.9	10.1
11 - 15	Number	494	55	183	16	12	2	65	0	0	0	0	0	754	73
	Percent	90.0	10.0	92.0	8.0	85.7	14.3	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	91.2	8.8
16 - 25	Number	570	34	175	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	745	41
	Percent	94.4	5.6	96.1	3.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	94.8	5.2
26+	Number	909	72	191	11	0	0	114	3	54	0	0	0	1,268	86
	Percent	92.7	7.3	94.6	5.4	—	—	97.4	2.6	100.0	—	—	—	93.6	6.4
Total	Number	2,471	227	1,009	91	112	40	319	10	73	0	46	3	4,080	371
	Percent	91.6	8.4	91.7	8.3	73.7	26.3	97.0	3.0	100.0	—	93.9	6.1	91.6	8.4

Table 4b. Distribution of Faculty by Department Size, Type of Institutions, and Undergraduate and Graduate Offerings

Size of Department		Public Coeducational			Private Coeducational			Private Women			Private Men			Public Men			Other			Total Faculty
		Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Undergraduate and Graduate	Total	
0-5	Male Number	155	28	183	243	24	267	47	4	51	43	4	47	13	0	13	29	0	29	590
	Percent	84.7	15.3	100.0	91.9	8.9	100.0	92.2	7.8	100.0	91.5	8.5	100 0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	
	Female Number	26	3	29	36	2	38	20	1	21	4	1	5	0	0	0	2	0	2	95
	Percent	89.7	10.3	100.0	94.7	5.3	100.0	95.2	4.8	100.0	80.0	20.0	100.0	—	—	—	100.0	—	100.0	
6-10	Male Number	164	151	315	134	59	193	44	5	49	74	19	93	6	0	6	11	6	17	673
	Percent	52.1	47.9	100.0	69.4	30.6	100.0	89.8	10.2	100.0	79.6	20.4	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	64.7	35.3	100.0	
	Female Number	25	12	37	14	5	19	14	3	17	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	76
	Percent	67.6	32.4	100.0	73.7	26.3	100.0	82.4	17.6	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	—	—	—	100.0	—	100.0	
11-15	Male Number	93	401	494	23	160	183	12	0	12	22	43	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	754
	Percent	18.8	81.2	100.0	12.6	87.4	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	33.8	66.2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Female Number	17	38	55	3	13	16	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
	Percent	30.9	69.1	100.0	18.8	81.2	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16-25	Male Number	0	570	570	0	175	175	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	745
	Percent	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Female Number	0	34	34	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
	Percent	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
26+	Male Number	0	909	909	0	191	191	0	0	0	0	114	114	54	0	54*	0	0	0	1,268
	Percent	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	—	—	—	
	Female Number	0	72	72	0	11	11	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	86
	Percent	—	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Total	Male Number	412	2,059	2,471	400	609	1,009	103	9	112	139	180	319	73	0	73	40	6	46	4,030
	Percent	16.7	83.3	100.0	39.6	60.4	100.0	92.0	8.0	100.0	43.6	56.4	100.0	100.0	—	100.0	87.0	13.0	100.0	
	Female Number	68	159	227	53	38	91	36	4	40	5	5	10	0	0	0	3	0	3	371
	Percent	30.0	70.0	100.0	58.2	41.8	100.0	90.0	10.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	—	—	—	100.0	—	100.0	

*U.S. Military Academy

Table 5. Number of Departments and Number of Faculty Women by Rank

Number of Females on Faculty	Instructor		Assistant Professor		Associate Professor		Full Professor		Other	
	Number of Departments	% of Total	Number of Departments	% of Total	Number of Departments	% of Total	Number of Departments	% of Total	Number of Departments	% of Total
0	393	83.1	373	78.9	417	88.2	426	90.1	445	94.1
1	69	14.6	83	17.5	54	11.4	43	9.1	19	4.0
2	9	1.9	15	3.2	2	.4	3	.6	3	.6
3+	2	.4	2	.4	0	0.0	1	.2	6	1.3
Total	473	100.0	473	100.0	473	100.0	473	100.0	473	100.0

Table 6. Distribution of Male and Female Faculty by Rank and Size of Department

Male

Size of Department	Instructor		Assistant Professor		Associate Professor		Full Professor		Other		Not Specified		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
0 - 5	91	15.4	223	37.8	122	20.7	137	23.2	15	2.5	2	.4	590
6 - 10	105	15.6	222	33.0	151	22.4	160	23.8	29	4.3	6	.9	673
11 - 15	105	13.9	247	32.8	154	20.4	214	28.4	34	4.5	0	—	754
16 - 25	55	7.4	245	32.9	165	22.1	261	35.0	19	2.6	0	—	745
26+	101	8.0	350	27.5	222	17.5	456	36.0	139	11.0	0	—	1268
Total	457	11.3	1287	31.9	814	20.2	1228	30.5	236	5.9	8	.2	4030

Female

Size of Department	Instructor		Assistant Professor		Associate Professor		Full Professor		Other		Not Specified		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
0 - 5	25	26.3	31	32.6	21	22.1	12	12.6	4	4.2	2	2.2	95
6 - 10	23	30.3	20	26.3	9	11.8	13	17.1	5	6.6	6	7.9	76
11 - 15	24	32.9	21	28.8	11	15.1	10	13.7	7	9.5	0	—	73
16 - 25	8	19.5	19	46.3	5	12.2	5	12.2	4	9.8	0	—	41
26+	13	15.1	30	34.9	12	14.0	13	15.1	18	20.9	0	—	86
Total	93	25.1	121	32.6	58	15.6	53	14.3	38	10.2	8	2.2	371

Table 7a. Male and Female Faculty by Rank in "Distinguished" Departments Compared With all Other Departments in the Sample

	Rank																	
	Instructor			Assistant Professor			Associate Professor			Full Professor			Other			Total		
Departments	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females
Distinguished*	19	1	5.0	156	11	6.6	107	5	4.5	255	3	1.2	80	7	8.0	606	27	4.3
Other**	438	92	17.4	1131	110	8.9	707	53	7.0	973	50	4.9	156	31	16.6	3424	344	9.1

*18 institutions: Yale, Harvard, California (Berkeley), Chicago, Columbia, Princeton, Wisconsin, Stanford, Michigan, Cornell, Northwestern, California (UCLA), Indiana, North Carolina, Minnesota, Illinois, Johns Hopkins, Duke. (Syarcuse and MIT omitted — did not respond to questionnaire.) For classifications see Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of Political Science from Burgess to Behavioralism*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1967, p. 164.

**455 institutions.

Table 7b. Male and Female Faculty by Rank in "Largest Producers of Doctorates" Compared With all Other Departments in the Sample

	Rank																	
	Instructor			Assistant Professor			Associate Professor			Full Professor			Other			Total		
Departments	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females	M	F	% Females
Largest Producers*	21	1	4.5	86	5	5.5	60	4	6.3	160	3	1.8	31	4	11.4	358	17	4.5
Other**	436	92	17.4	1201	116	8.8	754	54	6.7	1068	50	4.5	205	34	14.2	3672	354	8.8

*institutions: Columbia, Chicago, Harvard, NYU, American, Yale, California (Berkeley), Princeton, Michigan. (Syracuse omitted — did not respond to questionnaire.) For classifications see Somit and Tanenhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

**464 institutions.

Table 8. Graduate Enrollment in Political Science Classified by Size of Departments — Spring 1969

Total Graduate Enrollment*

Size of Department	Female	Percent	Male	Percent	Total
0 - 5	17	23.0	57	77.0	74
6 - 10	110	19.4	456	80.6	566
11 - 15	278	20.3	1,093	79.7	1,371
16 - 25	340	13.4	2,197	86.6	2,537
26+	879	18.6	3,851	81.4	4,730
Totals	1,624	17.5	7,654	82.5	9,278
No Breakdown			(11 institutions)		1,016 (9.9%)
Grand Total					10,294

M. A. Candidates

Size of Department	Female	Percent	Male	Percent	Total
0 - 5	11	19.3	46	80.7	57
6 - 10	105	22.1	370	77.9	475
11 - 15	235	23.5	766	76.5	1,001
16 - 25	248	17.2	1,191	82.8	1,439
26+	532	21.2	1,982	78.8	2,514
Totals	1,131	20.6	4,355	79.4	5,486
No Breakdown			(13 institutions)		556 (9.2%)
Grand Total					6,042

PH. D. Candidates

Size of Department	Female	Percent	Male	Percent	Total
0 - 5	1	25.0	3	75.0	4
6 - 10	3	7.5	37	92.5	40
11 - 15	43	12.3	307	87.7	350
16 - 25	140	13.7	882	86.3	1,022
26+	352	15.7	1,887	84.3	2,239
Totals	539	14.7	3,116	85.3	3,655
No Breakdown			(13 institutions)		579 (13.7%)
Grand Total					4,234

*Total Graduate Enrollment includes persons not in a degree program.

Table 9. Graduate Enrollment in Political Science and Departments by Number of Females on The Faculty — Spring 1969

Number of Female Faculty	Graduates 462 Institutions				M. A. 460 Institutions				Ph. D. 460 Institutions			
	Male	Female	Total	% Female	Male	Female	Total	% Female	Male	Female	Total	% Female
0	2,301	383	2,684	14.3	1,218	296	1,514	19.6	984	149	1,133	13.2
1	2,029	468	2,497	18.7	1,173	338	1,511	22.4	750	109	859	12.7
2	897	150	1,047	14.3	623	94	717	13.1	268	55	323	17.0
3+	2,427	623	3,050	20.4	1,341	403	1,744	23.1	1,114	226	1,340	16.9
Total	7,654	1,624	9,278	17.5	4,355	1,131	5,486	20.6	3,116	539	3,655	14.7

Table 10. Number of Male and Female Applicants Admitted to Graduate Study — Fall 1969

Size of Department	Number Male Applicants	Number Male Accepted	% Male	Number Female Applicants	Number Female Accepted	% Female	Total Applicants	Total Accepted	Total
0 - 5	238	45	18.9	21	8	38.1	259	53	20.5
6 - 10	423	323	76.4	184	143	77.7	607	507	76.8
11 - 15	738	393	53.3	228	114	50.0	966	466	52.5
16 - 25	1,875	905	48.3	387	187	48.3	2,262	1,092	48.3
26+	4,728	1,787	37.8	1,280	575	44.9	6,008	2,362	39.3
Total	8,002	3,453	43.2	2,100	1,027	48.9	10,102	4,480	44.3

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Victoria Schuck
Mount Holyoke College

The number of women political scientists listed in the 1968 *Directory* total 554.[1] Of these 404 were in full-time political science teaching and 150 in such other work as government, research, and journalism. The total constituted some seven percent of the entire listing[2]

Statistics on women in the profession may be analyzed in various ways. Of the women listed in the *Directory* who hold Ph.D.s, 117 or 56 percent report having received their degrees since 1960. If one looks at the *absolute numbers* of women awarded doctoral degrees over a number of years as reported by the National Academy of Sciences, the Census Bureau or the U.S. Office of Education, it is apparent that no decade has shown a decrease. Since the 1940s, for example, the number has doubled and redoubled every ten years, reaching 246 in the '60s (1960-1968). The figure is 258 for the decade 1958-1968.

If one examines the *rate of growth* in the number of doctorates in political science granted women during the decade 1958-1968 and compares this with the rate of growth for women Ph.D.s in such disciplines as economics, sociology, and psychology, or the social sciences generally, it is seen that the growth rate in political science exceeds that of all others except economics. Indeed it exceeds not only the growth rate for women Ph.D.s in all fields but also the growth rate of the population. And the rate is more than double that of men in political science. But the average number of Ph.D.s awarded in political science to women per year in the period 1958-1968 was 24, as compared with 264 for men, and is the lowest average in any field except for economics (20). (See Table 1 and Figures 1-4.)

It is in terms of *ratios* of women to men awarded the Ph.D. degree in political science that the significant minority of women becomes apparent. The peak was 10.0 percent for women and was reached in the first half of the 1930s. Then the ratio of women receiving doctorates fell to 5.8 in the 1950s, and although it rose in the 1960s, the proportion has not gone beyond 8.7 percent.

Questionnaire

From a questionnaire sent out by this Committee in March 1969 to department chairmen requesting information about women faculty members, their rank, etc., the minority and differential status of women is again apparent. Some 473 or 51.4 percent of the chairmen responded, half of whom (49.5 percent) reported have one or more women on their faculties. Of the 4,401 faculty members represented, 371 or 8.4 percent were women.[3]

In three-fourths (76 percent) of the institutions reporting women in political science faculties the departments were small (0-15 members). Indeed almost two-thirds of the women (63.0 percent) were teaching in small departments, while less than half of the men (43.3 percent) were so reported. It was also revealed that the larger the department, the more likely the presence of women, but the smaller the proportion of women. A greater proportion of women (44 percent) than men (29.0 percent) were teaching undergraduates exclusively in spring of 1969.

To relate the number of departments and the rank of women in them: Table 2 reveals that in more than 90 percent of departments there were no women at the rank of full professor and in more than 88 percent, none at the rank of associate.

Although the largest proportion of women teaching political science in 1969 was at the rank of instructor (a disappearing rank in modern day academia) women were but 17 percent of all instructors (see Table 3). In terms of numbers, women clustered at the rank of assistant professor, but women still constituted only about 9 percent at this level.

Table 4 shows clearly that in 1969 most women teaching political science were concentrated in the two lower ranks. The ratio of women to men at the level of instructor was two to one. On the higher ranks it was increasingly less likely to find more than one woman in any except that of assistant professor. A woman full professor was an exception.

1 Unless otherwise noted, this section of the report is adapted from Victoria Schuck, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," in *PS*, Fall 1969, vol. II, pp. 642-653.

2 In 1963, women constituted 12.5 percent of the American Sociological Association. See Ann E. Davis, "Women as a Minority Group in Higher Academics," *The American Sociologist*, *May* 1969, vol. 4, p. 98. There is a growing literature on women in the professions. For recent articles pertinent to the subject of women in teaching and research in institutions of higher learning see Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women*, University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University, 1964; Ann Fischer and Peggy Golde, "The Position of Women in Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, April 1968, vol. 70, pp. 337-343; Alice S. Rossi, "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology, 1968-69," *American Sociologist*, February 1970, vol. 5, pp. 1-11.

3 Jessie Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 30 reported that women constituted 19.5 percent of all faculty members in colleges and universities in July 1960.

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Figure 1. Doctorates in Political Science by years.

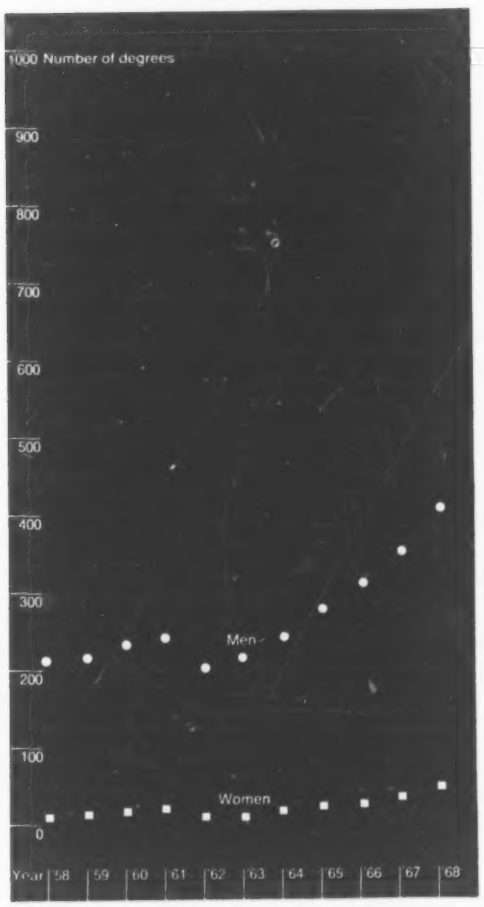
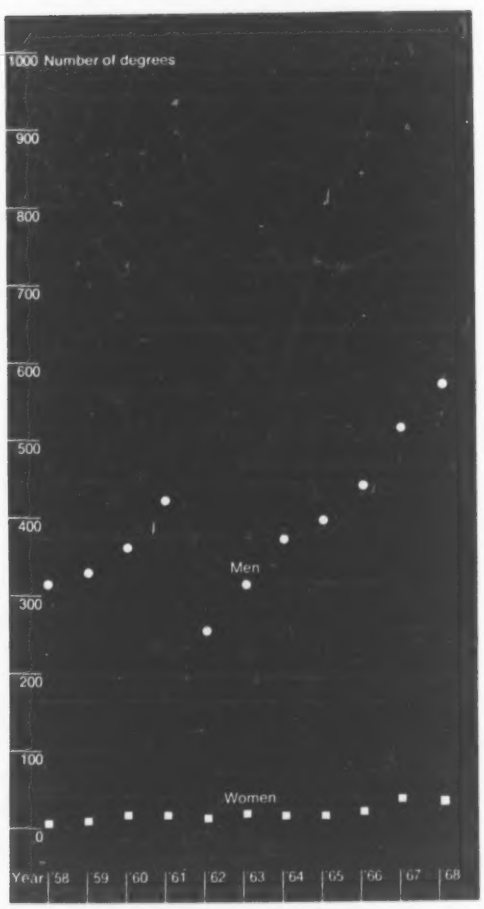


Figure 2. Doctorates in Economics by years.



Political Science

Year	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, 1920-1962			
1958	213	13	226
1959	215	15	230
1960	233	18	251
1961	240	24	264
Statistical Abstract of the United States			
1962	202	12	214
1963	215	13	228
1964	242	21	263
1965	278	26	304
1966	307	29	336
1967	352	38	390
1968	405	52	457

Economics

Year	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
1958	314	8	322
1959	326	12	338
1960	357	18	375
1961	417	17	434
Statistical Abstract of the United States			
1962	253	15	268
1963	311	20	331
1964	368	17	385
1965	393	17	410
1966	436	22	458
1967	509	37	546
1968	565	35	600

Figure 3. Doctorates in Sociology by years.

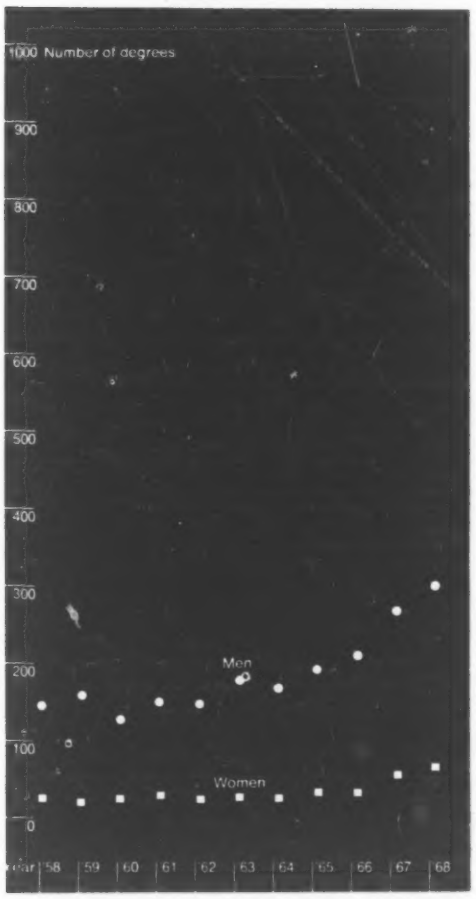
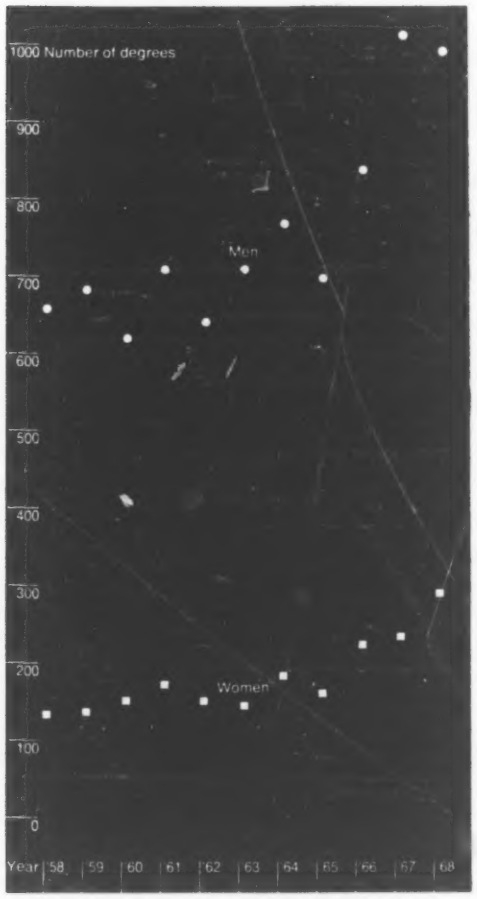


Figure 4. Doctorates in Psychology by years.



Sociology

Year	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, 1920-1962, Nat'l Academy of Sciences			
1958	146	28	174
1959	159	24	183
1960	128	28	156
1961	151	32	183
Statistical Abstract of the United States			
1962	147	26	173
1963	177	31	208
1964	169	29	198
1965	194	36	230
1966	208	36	244
1967	268	59	327
1968	299	68	367

Psychology

Year	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Doctorate Production in U.S. Universities, National Academy of Sciences			
1958	647	133	780
1959	674	135	809
1960	613	149	762
1961	699	171	870
Statistical Abstract of the United States HB, Un3; 1964-1968			
1962	632	149	781
1963	700	144	844
1964	757	182	939
1965	688	159	847
1966	826	220	1046
1967	999	232	1231
Earned Degrees Conferred: Part B-Institutional Data			
1968	982	286	1268

Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences

Table 1 Average Annual Compounded Rates of Growth in Doctoral Production 1958-1968

Field	% Women	% Men	% Total	Average Number of Ph.D.s 1958-1968 Women	Men	Total
Political Science	**12.6**	**5.8**	**6.4**	**23.72**	**263.81**	**287.54**
Economics	13.4	5.3	5.6	19.81	368.27	406.09
Sociology	8.1	6.5	6.7	36.09	186.	222.09
Psychology	6.8	3.7	4.4	178.1	747.	925.1
Social Sciences	2.3	3.3	3.1	240.27	1,810.91	2,051.18
All fields	8.8	7.9	8.1	1,603	12,587.3	14,994
Population	1.3	1.2	1.2			

Source: National Academy of Science – National Research Council, Doctorate Production in the United States Universities 1920-1962 . . . compiled by Lindsey R. Harmon and Herbert Soldz, Washington, D.C., Publication No. 1142, National Academy of Sciences; Office of Scientific Personnel, Summary Report 1968, Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities, prepared in the Education Employment Section, Manpower Studies Branch OSP-MSOZ, Ap. 1969, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964 ff.; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Earned Degrees Conferred, Bachelor and Higher Degrees, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, OE-54013-66, Cir No. 721; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Estimates of the Population of the United States and Components of Change: 1940 to 1969, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, Series P-25, No. 418, March 14, 1969. Formula $P_2/P_1=e^{rn}$. P_1=number at beginning of period; P_2=number at end of period; r=rate of growth; n=number of years.

Table 2 Departments as of 1969 with no Women in Political Science at the Rank of

Instructor	83.1 percent of 473 reporting
Assistant professor	78.9 percent of 473 reporting
Associate professor	88.2 percent of 473 reporting
Full professor	90.1 percent of 473 reporting

Table 3 Number and Percent in 1969 of Female and Male Faculty and Percent of Female by Rank in 478 Political Science Departments

Rank	Female	Male	% Female
Instructor	93	457	16.9
Assistant professor	121	1,287	8.6
Associate professor	58	814	6.7
Full professor	53	1,228	4.1
Other	46	244	11.7
	371	4,030	

Table 4 Distribution of Faculty by Rank in Political Science 1969

		% Instructor	% Asst. Prof.	% Asso. Prof.	% Other	% Full Prof.	%
Male	(4,030)	11.3	31.9	20.2	6.1	30.5	100.00
Female	(371)	25.1	32.6	15.6	12.4	14.3	100.00

Table 5 Faculty by Rank in 180 Graduate Departments of Sociology 1968-69

Rank	Female	Male	% Female
Instructor	90	244	26.9
Assistant professor	127	830	13.3
Associate professor	54	519	9.4
Full professor	29	752	3.7

Source: Alice S. Rossi cited in Malcolm G. Scully, "Women in Higher Education: Changing the Status Quo," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 9, 1970, vol. IV, p. 3

Differential access to scholarship and teaching may be indicated by another measurement. A comparison between women in the so-called "distinguished" and "greatest producers" departments and women in "all other" departments showed an inverse relationship at all ranks: the "distinguished" departments and those most productive of doctorates had a smaller ratio of women than the "all other" except for a small fraction at the associate professor level in the category of "greatest producers." Females in the prestigious groups did not exceed 4.5 percent, whereas in "all other" institutions they reached 9.1 percent.

The apparent concentration of women in the lower untenured ranks may be attributed to fewer advanced degrees, youth, and recency of appointment. As pointed out in the earlier analysis, appointments may also mirror the problem of meeting the requirements of a particular field, for in 1967 (the 1968 *Directory*) 59 percent of the women listed the first field as comparative government or political development.

Yet recent studies show a similar pattern of minority and differential status for women in other academic disciplines. In anthropology, for example, a 1965 study revealed that women constituted 10.4 percent of the full-time faculty members, but a slightly higher proportion than found in political science in 1969. In anthropology, as in political science, most of the women were in small institutions offering more undergraduate teaching than graduate.[4]

In sociology a study of 180 graduate departments in 1968-69 (see Table 5) revealed that women were concentrated in the lower ranks: one woman in four at the level of instructor and one in 25 at that of full professor. Furthermore, there appeared to be little chance of a woman's rising above the rank of assistant professor. And although in this study women were listed on the graduate faculties, 55 percent were teaching undergraduate work exclusively. Finally, differential access to "prestige" departments for women faculty was found to exist in sociology as well as in political science.[5]

The future increase in the number of women in political science is suggested by enrollment figures at the undergraduate and graduate levels in the spring of 1969 and the admission figures for the fall of 1969. At least 23.2 percent of the 58,381 undergraduates in political science in the spring of 1969 were women. Women comprised only 17.5 percent of the overall graduate enrollment, as compared with 33 percent represented in sociology in the academic year 1968-69. In political science women constituted 20.6 percent or 1,131 of the master's candidates and 14.7 percent or 539 of the doctoral (in sociology, 30 percent). The number of women admitted to graduate study in political science for the academic year 1969-70 totaled 1,027, or 48.9 percent of the female applications. Overall, women were still only 22.9 percent of the acceptances and 20.8 percent of the applications.

4 Fischer and Golde, pp. 340-341, 343.
5 Rossi, pp. 5-7.

Femina Studens rei Publicae: Notes on her Professional Achievement

Victoria Schuck
Mount Holyoke College

The profile of *Femina Studens rei Publicae* which has developed from the gross statistics and the 1969 survey of departments of political science shows that the professional woman in academia is primarily in the lower ranks, often not even on the first step of the promotion "ladder" and is teaching undergraduates. Although her habitat is the small college, there are signs that she may be emerging from it to the faculties of the city and state university. Recently she has been receiving Ph.D.'s at a greater rate of growth than that for men, but she still remains a small minority. In considering the following ratios related to her publications, other evidences of scholarship, and the recognition accorded to her in the profession, it is important to stress that the woman political scientist who is teaching constitutes five percent of the membership in the A.P.S.A. and according to the 1969 survey, 8.4 percent of all faculty in political science in colleges and universities.[1]

Publication

Arguments over the productive research of women in academia are legion. Explanations for the failure of women to publish range from the distractions of marriage and the greater desire of women than of men solely to teach, to the clustering of female appointments on faculties of small or not first rate institutions where teaching loads are heavy, stimulation is missing, and research funds are lacking.[2] On the other hand there are studies supporting the conclusion that women with Ph.D.'s publish as much as men.[3]

Moreover pleas are coming from some quarters against quantity of publication as an index of research capabilities and commitment.[4] But no effort is made here to evaluate publication in terms of the contribution of women's articles and books to the field of political science. Rather to remove some of the impressions current about women's output relative to men's, a necessarily uncomplicated but still revealing method has been used. The *American Political Science Review* and the quarterly journals of the four regional associations have been selected from the fifteen major journals published in the discipline, and articles and book reviews were counted by the sex of the authors.[5] Similarly,the number of books reviewed in the *A.P.S.R.* were tabulated by the sex of the writers. The period covered is 1959 through mid-1970.

As Tables 1 and 2 indicate, articles by women are published infrequently, the range being from less than two percent in the *Journal of Politics* of the Southern region to four percent in the *A.P.S.R.* and slightly more than four percent in the *Midwest Journal. Polity*, of the Northeastern Association, which was started in the fall of 1968, has yet to publish an article by a woman. The proportion of all articles in all journals from 1959 to the present written by women is but three percent. The number of articles by women appearing in recent years reveals no particular increase. In fact one article coauthored by a woman was published in the *A.P.S.R.* in each of the last complete years 1968 and 1969, and one written solely by a woman thus far in 1970. A regional journal, the *Midwest*, has published one, two, or three annually in the last five full year 1965-69.

1 Adapted from a paper presented at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the APSA in Los Angeles, Calif., September 1970. See the writer's "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," *PS*, Fall 1969, II, 642-653, and "Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences," Summer 1970, III, 357-361: "Women in the Political Science Profession," October 1968, updated October 1969, APSA Washington, D.C., 1969 (mimeograph).

2 Ann E. Davis, "Women as a Minority Group in Higher Academics," *The American Sociologist*, May 1969, IV, 97; Lawrence A. Simpson, A Study of Employing Agents' Attitudes toward American Women in Higher Education, Doctoral Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1968, 28. Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women*, University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964, 146-152; Juanita M. Kreps, "Sex and the Scholarly Girl," *AAUP Bulletin*, March 1965, LI, 30-33.

3 Committee on Senate Policy, University of California, Berkeley, *Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus*, May 19, 1970, 35; Ann Fischer and Peggy Golde, "The Position of Women in Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, April 1968, LXX, 337-343; Rita James Simon, Shirley Merritt Clark, and Kathleen Galway, "The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile," *Social Problems*, Summer 1967, XV, 230-232; Rita James Simon and Evelyn Rosenthal, "Profile of the Woman Ph.D. in Economics, History, and Sociology," *AAUW Journal*, March 1967, LX, 127-129.

4 Alice Rossi, "Discrimination and Demography Restrict Opportunities for Academic Women," *College and University Business*, February 1970, XLIII, 78.

5 For listings see American Political Science Association, Scholarly Journals in the Social Sciences, Washington, D.C. nd, 5-6 Section E (mimeograph).

Such restraint was not unusual: George Kateb saw *PS's* game as a shade too mean to allow his participation and Henry Abraham said he didn't have the stomach for it. It would appear that within the profession all is sweetness and forbearance. To be sure, some respondents let it be known that under pressure (or under cover of anonymity) they could name names: Hans Morgenthau said there were so many he couldn't possibly single one out; Carl Friedrich too regretted that I failed to ask for several since he could not think of merely one; and Andrew Hacker sweepingly observed that we have unjustifiably cherished books "by ourselves, for ourselves." But the fact is that while there was an itch to tell, few did. The most ingenious maneuver (in my judgment, if a survey as disciplined as this one allows for judgment) was Norman Jacobson's. He noted that at least one unpublished volume – that version of *The Authoritarian Personality* which is "entrenched in the skulls of most of us middle-aged political scientists" – had received an excess of attention. The unpublished fantasy in our skulls, he said, is "marvelously objective, free of non-scientific influences, brimming with techniques which lend themselves to simple adaptations and, above all, subservient to no political ideology save that of rational freedom." An alternative strategy for praising a book in response to a question intended to make some books disreputable was Ted Lowi's. He wrote that *The Voter Decides* was so "pathfinding, inventive, and imaginative" that continued attention to it will keep us from turning to other dimensions of politics. And David Easton wrote – disarmingly because not ironically – that really nothing has received too much attention, that, indeed, we ought to give more attention to everything we do: "critical underkill is a far greater hazard than critical overkill." Similarly, Harry Eckstein noted ("if there is to be personal attribution") that in his view "no article or book published during the last quarter-century has received too much attention, although a good many have received too little."

No doubt it has occurred to you that if these responses provide some basis for optimism – we are *not* nasty; we do *not* lack in intellectual agility; we do *not* tend to overvalue anyone's work – just possibly this is because the question was exclusively addressed to "notable political scientists." Perhaps one doesn't become notable unless one is resourceful enough to avoid characterizing work by one's colleagues as overvalued. Less notable figures in the landscape might wear different masks.

Table 1 Articles and Reviews published in Selected Journals of Political Science 1959-Mid 1970: Productivity of Women*

Journal	Articles			Book Reviews		
	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Women	% Women
A.P.S.R., March 1959-June 1970	477	19	4.0	2,907	80	2.8
Journal of Politics, Feb. 1959-Feb. 1970	361	6	1.7	1,235	25	2.0
Midwest Journal of Political Science, Feb. 1959-May 1970	228	10	4.4	426	7	1.6
Western Political Quarterly, March 1959-March 1970	654	19	2.9	1,766	8	0.5
Polity, Fall 1968-Summer 1970	24	0	0.0	19	1	5.3
Total	1,744	54	3.1	6,353	121	1.9

Source: Issues of these Journals

The process of voluntary submission of articles to a journal and their selection for publication is highly competitive. Editors regularly send out manuscripts submitted to two readers or referees for approval or disapproval of publication (a third and even a fourth reader may be chosen later if the first two disagree). The anonymity of the author is preserved as fully as possible. We have no way of ascertaining the number of submissions and rate of rejections of articles by women. The recent editor of the *A.P.S.R.* stated that thirteen and a half percent of all manuscripts are published. He estimated that five percent are submitted by women and of these about twenty percent are published.[6]

The selection of book reviewers involves a quite different process. As two former editors described their procedures, they both maintained files of professionals who previously or currently were reviewing. Given the number of works published and their disparate subject matter, one book review editor stated that he would take almost any reviewer with reasonable qualifications. He explained that he was largely dependent upon younger and relatively unknown professionals because the older and more established persons were over-burdened with other duties. He gave no thought to age, group, or institution represented by the reviewers. Only in the case of a major work by an established name expecting a reviewer of comparable status did this editor attempt to match the reviewer with the author. Except in such instances, the main problem was to discover someone who was competent and reliable and with free time. He recalled another editor's trying to encourage potential reviewers by holding office hours at the national and regional meetings of the Association.

The second editor chose reviewers by keeping abreast of those who were writing articles, giving papers, and taking part in panels at professional meetings, as well as publishing books. This editor would notice if women published and since they did not publish often, reviewers were more likely to be men. And yet this editor happened to be more aware of the professional women, and so for a period there was a greater proportion of women reviewers.

Whatever the selection process, the ratio of reviews by women was considerably less than the ratio of articles appearing by women. Of

6 Some 300 referees of whom fifteen were women evaluated articles for the *A.P.S.R.* in the period July 1965-mid 1970. Authors of rejected manuscripts receive copies of the critiques of referees. For procedures in reviewing manuscripts sent to the editor of the *A.P.S.R.* see Austin Ranney, "Procedures for Reviewing Manuscripts," *A.P.S.R.*, March 1969, LXIII, 168-169. In the period August 1, 1965 to July 31, 1968, 16.8 percent of the manuscripts submitted were published. For annual rates see "Report of the Managing Editor American Political Science Review 1969-1970," *PS*, Summer 1970, III, Special Issue, 600-602.

Table 2 Coauthorship of Articles in Selected Journals of Political Science 1959-Mid 1970*

Journal	Total Articles written by Men	Coauthored Men With Men	% Coauthored	Total Articles written by Women	Coauthored Women With Men or Women	% Coauthored
A.P.S.R., March 1959-June 1970	458	65	14.2	19	5	26.3
Journal of Politics, Feb. 1959-Feb. 1970	355	24	6.8	6	2	33.3
Midwest Journal of Political Science, Feb. 1959-May 1970	218	29	13.3	10	2	20.0
Western Political Quarterly, March 1959-March 1970	635	47	7.4	19	5	26.3
Polity, Fall 1968-Summer 1970	24	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Total	1,690	165	9.8	54	14	25.9

Source: Issues of these Journals

*Data compiled by Rebecca Louise Ano of the A.P.S.A. staff and Marie A. Gaudard, Mount Holyoke '73.

the 6,353 reviews in the five journals, 121 or 1.9 percent were by women. The smallest proportion was in the *Western Quarterly* where women reviewers were less than one percent. The proportion in the *A.P.S.R.* was 2.8 percent.

The hypothesis that women publish jointly more often than men is borne out by the ratios of coauthorship during the 1959-70 period. Men published with other men 9.8 percent of the time, whereas women coauthored 25.9 percent in the same period. But because women rarely collaborate with other women, the total coauthors among men come out to 10.3 percent of the articles published, a ratio less than half that of women (see Table 2).

Women collaborated with other researchers at an even higher rate in writing books than in writing articles. Of the 3,225 books reviewed in the A.P.S.R. during the period 1959-mid 1970, women authored 141 or 4.2 percent. And of these 52 or slightly over 36 percent had coauthors.

Papers at A.P.S.A. Meetings

Scholarship may also be evidenced by participation in the annual meetings of the Association either by giving papers or taking part in discussions. Records of participation by women in early programs or on committees of the Association are sparse. During the first ten years of the Association's existence, an average of fifteen papers were read, and normally there were three to six discussants at the annual meetings, and none of these was a woman.[7] Indeed the only reference to anything related to women occurred when Bryce was president in 1908, and the Association urged the Trustees of Carnegie Institution to establish a Department of Research in Political Science. The "memorial" prepared for the trustees to support monographic studies on such topics as "Suffrage and the Newer Institutional Forms of Democracy," stated that "woman suffrage has never been investigated on a broad basis

7 For early meetings of the A.P.S.A. see *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, vols. I-III, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Wickersham Press, 1905-1907; vols. IV-X, Baltimore, Maryland, Waverly Press, 1908-1914. At the first meeting there were eight papers including three on the general topic of International Law; two on the Government of Colonies and Dependencies; and three on State and Local Government. Two of the eight were mentioned but not read only because of the absence of their authors.

Table 3 "Paper-Givers," Discussants, Chairmen and Percentages of Women at Annual Meetings of the A.P.S.A., 1959-1969

	"Paper Givers"			Discussants			Chairmen		
Year	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Women	% Women
1959	65	1	1.5	192	7	3.6	48	0	0.0
1960	79	5	6.3	215	7	3.3	54	0	0.0
1961	85	2	2.4	188	2	1.1	51	0	0.0
1962	118	2	1.7	172	3	1.7	56	2	3.6
1963	122	3	2.5	186	8	4.3	63	1	1.6
1964	93	0	0.0	191	3	1.6	52	2	3.8
1965	53	2	3.8	129	1	0.8	46	1	2.2
1966	174	9	5.2	164	4	2.4	77	0	0.0
1967	111	3	2.7	183	3	1.6	60	0	0.0
1968	188	9	4.8	111	9	8.1	82	3	3.7
1969	315	21	6.7	312	19	6.1	131	5	3.8
Total	1,403	57	4.1	2,043	66	3.2	720	14	1.9

Source: A.P.S.A., Women in the Political Science Profession, October 1968 updated October 1969, Washington, D.C., 1969 (mimeograph).

nor have the various elements of Negro suffrage."[8]

If one turns to the recent decade 1959-1969, it is apparent that women political scientists not only participate in meetings but come off better in giving papers than in publishing. In this ten-year period, the proportion of women who gave papers came to four percent, and in the last year, 1969, to about seven. As discussants they were three percent. Only an exceedingly small number ever served as chairmen of panels, although five women did so at the New York meetings in 1969.

Inasmuch as the majority of those who present papers at meetings are young political scientists, the increased proportion of women may be a reflection of the numbers of women with recent Ph.D.'s (see Table 3).

Professional Identification and Recognition

The twenty-five founders of the Association included no women in their organizing meeting in 1903 But in the *Proceedings* of the first annual meeting in Chicago in late December 1904, one woman, the president of Wellesley College, was reported among the 225 members of the Association. She was not made an officer, nor was she appointed to any of the nine three-member committees.

As the first decade of the A.P.S.A. progressed, other women became members. Four joined in 1905. In the last half of the ten-year period, 1904-1913, while the total membership swelled almost to two thousand, the number of women never exceeded thirty-five or slightly more than three percent. The purpose of the Association was to promote "the scientific study of politics, public law, administration, and diplomacy." The constitution stipulated that the Association would take no "partisan position on any question of practical politics."[9] Consequently, membership qualifications were wide open, and anyone with $3.00 for annual dues or $50 for a life membership could join (see Table 4).

8 *Proceedings V*, 1908 (1909), 28, 34.

9 For a copy of the constitution see *Proceedings*, IV, 1907 (1908), 3-4.

Table 4 Membership in the American Political Association 1904-1913, 1968: Total Members, Number and Percentage of Women (Excluding Student Members)

Year	Total Members	Women	
		Number	%
1904	225	1	0.4
1905	290	4	1.4
1906	339	5	1.5
1907	519	9	1.7
1908	645	12	1.9
1909	962	32	3.3
1910	1,103	35	3.2
1911	1,277	34	2.7
1912	1,234	33	2.7
1913	1,821	29	1.6
1968	7,600	554	7.3

Source Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 1905-1914; 1968 *Biographical Directory.*

Since professional designations were not noted in membership lists, it is not always easy to glean the qualifications of the members from their addresses. Men represented libraries, foreign universities, newspapers, banks, high school teaching, the courts, Congress, embassies in Washington, D.C., federal departments, as well as American colleges and universities. Women were listed from such colleges as Mount Holyoke, Mills, Pennsylvania College for Women, from normal schools, and the Wisconsin Railroad Commission. Some were wives who gave no clues concerning their professional interests, noting no more than their husband-members' street addresses.

Recognition of women has come slowly. The first woman given an official role in the Association was a faculty member of Dana Hall who in 1913 was appointed to the Committee on Instructions (sic).[10] It has been exceptional to elect a woman. No woman has been elected president; the first woman to serve as vice president was elected in 1931 and since that time, only five women have had the office. Of the total, four served in the '30s, one in the '40s, and only one in the '60s.

In most organizations made up of men and women, it has been customary to allot the job of secretary to women. Originally the Association combined the offices of secretary and treasurer, and so no woman achieved the job until the two were separated. Six women have done so since the first was elected in the '50s, but in recent years this office seems to have been lost to them, since women's names do not seem to be put forward by nominating committees.

As to the specific office of council member – an elective position – almost four percent of the members have been women since the 1920s. The first woman, a faculty member at Wellesley College came to the council in 1926. For the most part the practice has been to have one woman a term, although occasional overlapping has occurred because of the staggered terms of council members. It may be noted that of the fourteen women who have been elected to the council, three have at other times, also been vice presidents, and three, secretaries, so that there has not been open dispersion of offices even among the few women who have held elective positions (see Table 5).

A small number of women have held appointive positions – committee membership – in the

10 See *Proceedings*, X ,1913 (1914).

Table 5 Council Members, Number and Percentage of Women 1920-1969; Editorial Board of the A.P.S.R., Number and Percentage of Women 1920-1969.

	Council			Editorial Boards		
	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women
1920-29	60	2	3.2	21	0	0.0
1930-39	56	3	5.1	32	0	0.0
1940-49	61	2	3.1	39	1	2.6
1950-59	90	4	4.2	28	0	0.0
1960-69	85	3	3.4	21	0	0.0
Total	352	14	3.8	141	1	0.7

Source: Journals of the A.P.S.A. Data compiled by Rebecca Louise Ano.

Association since the '50s. Besides the eight now on the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, nineteen have served on such committees as the Nominating, Political Parties, Leonard D. White Award, Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award, Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development, Professional Ethics, and Status of Blacks in the Profession. One woman did become chairman of her committee.

With few exceptions the membership on editorial boards of the *A.P.S.R.* and the regional journals has belonged to men. One woman served on the board of the *A.P.S.R.* in the '40s, and three were listed in the '60s as assisting with the bibliography in the *Review*. Among the regional journals one woman who had served as book review editor moved up to the editorship in the '60s. Two women now are members of the editorial board of *PS*, but these meager figures do show that women are rare in guiding the journals. Yet they are not unheard of on editorial boards, and it is possible for them to reach the top.

In the category of awards, recognition of women in the Association is worth noting. But these awards do not go exclusively to women in political science. For example, only a portion of the Congressional fellows are political scientists. In 1967-68 of the 44 fellows, ten were political scientists of whom one was a woman, and in 1970-71 of 39 fellows, eight are political scientists of whom one is a woman. The problem stems from the few applications from women, for even if all women who applied were appointed, the numbers would still be extremely small (see Table 6).

In summary the data reveal that women are disproportionately represented in professional activities given their numbers in the Association. If one uses the same data to calculate a rate of publication (which rate is based on the number of articles by men and women

Table 6 Congressional Fellowships, Other Awards: 1953-1970, with Percentage of Women

	Years	Total	Women	% Women
Congressional Fellows	1953-1970	442	53	12.0
State and Local Internship	1967-1970	116	10	8.6
Public Affairs Reporting Awards	1960-1971	388	17	4.4
University Fellowship for Public Affairs Reporting	1966-1970	23	1	4.3

Source: Records of the A.P.S.A.

appearing in journals during the past decade divided by the 1968 membership of men and women), the underrepresentation can also be shown.[11] As of 1968 for every 100 women there were 10 articles, whereas for every 100 men, there were 24 – or more than twice as many over the decade. As to book reviews published in the same time period, for every 100 women there were 22 reviews and for every 100 men, 88 – or more than four times as many. All other criteria used, whether papers given at meetings, chairmanships of panels, or offices held, give the same result: that men participated at a rate ranging from two to four times that of women. Some of the differences in rate of performance have been suggested above, but neither in part nor in sum do they seem definitive. The whole question will bear further analysis.

11 This is not a true rate because of the use of 1968 membership figures instead of a mid term population. The 1968 membership figures are the only figures available showing breakdown by sex. Student members are excluded.

ASPIRATIONS, ACHIEVEMENT AND PROFESSIONAL ADVANCEMENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: THE PROSPECT FOR WOMEN IN THE WEST

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What do graduate women students look forward to in Political Science? What do the experience and observations of their faculty mentors suggest is the future for them? We were asked to examine the data gathered by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in order to diagnose the situation in the West, especially as relevant to those women going through graduate training in that region.

We view graduate training from the perspective of recruitment into the professional discipline of political science, although this process would also have to include some share of the more specialized routes that the programs in public administration, international relations, and area studies provide. Not only do these programs make the potential supply of professionals difficult to estimate, but also the fact that either the master's or doctoral degree may be the ticket to professional practice. The NSF's National Register of "professional political scientists" contained 61% who were Ph.D.'s and 38% having only master's degrees. A miniscule 1% were qualified by the rather rigorous criteria, without having any degrees at all in the discipline.*

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*The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel in 1970 was based on a more restrictive definition of "professional political scientist" than the one used in 1968. One criterion was some graduate training in political science, as before, but in 1970 some scholarly achievement was the only alternative criterion: "A master's degree in political science or 2 years of graduate work with 1 year of professional experience; or a Ph.D. in political science; or substantial professional achievement in political science as evidenced by contribution to the professional literature." APSA Advisory Committee Memorandum to NSF, June 1970. See Earl M. Baker, "The Political Science Profession in 1970: Basic Characteristics," P.S. Winter 1971, p. 33.

Further, we can treat graduate enrollment in political science only as a possible source of our professionals because some number may go into other careers, such as law, journalism, or even business and unrelated occupations. There may also be interruptions in the recruitment flow due to military service by the men, or to marriage and children in the case of women. Studies show that there is a considerable attrition rate for graduate students pursuing advanced social science degrees, and very markedly so for the women graduates.*

Further, political science teachers may be responsible for influencing only a part of undergraduate political science majors and master's candidates to go on for advanced political science degrees. One National Research Council survey indicated that approximately 50% of the political science Ph.D.'s received B.A.'s in a field other than political science, while 76% had master's degrees in the subject.** The more recent reports of doctorate recipients indicate the percentage figures for those Ph.D.'s with master's in political science has increased to 83% suggesting a greater standardization of that recruitment route.***

Finally, we may note that teaching in academia, where the recruitment of new professionals takes place, is just one kind of employment of the professional political scientist, although a major one. In 1970 77% of those in the National Register were employed by educational institutions (some very minor portion of whom have taken administrative posts);

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*Mooney in his study of attrition among graduate students with Woodrow Wilson Fellowships finds that sex is the single most important correlate with attrition. Males had 2½ times greater probability of receiving a Ph.D. Joseph D. Mooney, "Attrition Among Ph.D. Candidates: An Analysis of a Cohort of Recent Woodrow Wilson Fellows," Journal of Human Resources, III, I, W.68 pp. 48-62. See also James Davis, Great Aspirations (Chicago: Aldene Publishing Co., 1964). Davis estimates that as many as 25% of the women after receiving their doctorates drop out of academia due to marriage and family obligations.

**National Research Council, Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Univ-

***The Profession: Profile of Ph.D. Recipients in Political

another 10% worked for governments, 5% in private organizations (business, non-profits), and 5% were not employed.* Thus we recognize that political scientists involved in the professional recruitment process are but a subset of the entire profession, and when we take estimates of who they are and where they practice, the West as compared with the national, this must be kept in mind. Our appraisal of the situation in the West can in many ways provide a closer look at who takes part in this recruitment process. In any case, we are concerned with any contrasts with the national situation, and especially with the prospects for women in western political science.

WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE: WHERE IT'S AT AND WHO'S IN IT

While it is quite difficult to designate exactly the pool of potential professional political scientists and the routes by which they become practicing members of the discipline, neither is it easy to get a full count of those currently teaching the subject - i.e. recruiting - and their students - the potential recruits. We attempted to do this, for the West** as compared to the national set, by considering several sources which

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ersities, 1958-1966 (NAS Publication 1489).

Science, 1968", P.S. Fall 1969, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 659.

*Baker, op. cit., p. 3.

**Unless otherwise noted, the West is defined as including the states of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. This does not coincide exactly with the membership of the Western Political Science Association, which includes persons from British Columbia, and Alberta, Canada, as well as many from northern and western Texas.

report the numbers of political scientists for different reasons. The largest national roster of political scientists reported is the APSA membership, whom we may characterize as the people who identify strongly enough with the profession to join and pay their dues - or at least feel it occupationally rewarding to do so. There was no requirement that the members have actually received their training in political science, or have made a "substantial contribution" to the profession. On the basis of the last reports, we found that the Western share was very nearly 2,000, or 14.5% of all members nationwide (13,663).* Graduate students comprise a sizable one-third of that national total. It is unfortunate that we were unable to determine how many of these APSA grad members were from the West since we assume paying dues indicates a rather clear professional identification. The Western Political Science Association membership list cannot be used for effective comparison since the dues are much lower, they were not tied to a journal at that time, and most of the memberships are signed up only through attending the western meetings. At Sacramento last year, just 501 members thus registered, about 15% indicating student status.** Thus we conclude the WPSA membership greatly under-represents the professional political scientist of the West, and its graduate student universe even less.

By either count, though, the state of California dominates western political science. It contributes 63% of all the western APSA members,

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*P.S., Summer 1970, Vol. III Special Issue, p. 584-585.

**Dittoed registration list, with student members marked by asterisks.

and ranks second to New York nationally (10.1% and 10.9% respectively).* There is reason to believe that California has even more, proportionally, of the graduate student membership, since so many of the major graduate schools of the West are located there.

It is very likely the case that more of the western professionals are deployed in this region as teachers than are their eastern counterparts. More of the eastern APSA members are probably practitioners in government and politics (or manning the foundations), locating more frequently around the Washington, D. C. and New York areas. This is suggested by comparing the APSA membership with the National Register and their respective proportions in the West (17.6% as compared to 14.5% for APSA). We also note that the California share of westerners in the Register - now minus students and most practitioners - drops by 5%. (See Appendix A.)

We can use these lists for a comparison with the returns of the APSA 1969 survey of political science departments, as to the numbers of women among faculty and students. The national response rate was 51.4%, but the northwest and mountain states departments responded far more frequently (64% and 62% respectively).** The Southwest (presumably including California) also replied somewhat more frquently than the eastern and south-

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*Washington is a very far second, having 10% of the western membership, then Colorado (7%), and Oregon (6%). These four states have a cumulative total of 86% of the western APSA membership, and there is reason to believe these are weighed by larger shares of graduate students than the rest of the West. The remaining western states range downward from Arizona's 4.8% to Alaska's near .4%. See Appendix A for a more detailed tabulation.

**For reports of the findings of the survey, see Victoria Schuck, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," P.S. Fall 1969, pp. 642-653; and "Some Comparative Statistics on Women in Political Science and Other Social Sciences," P.S. Summer 1970, pp. 357-363.

ern states, so that the West, all told, is better but somewhat differentially represented in the survey. As Appendix A indicates, there is a near similarity of rank order, but the less populous states are represented more completely. We were able to check the institutions not responding; the most frequent non-respondents were those departments in small private colleges which probably have very few political science faculty, with no graduate programs in political science. The two major institutions of the West not responding were U.C.L.A. and U.S.C., where there are undoubtedly large numbers of faculty, graduate and undergraduate students in political science. Many state colleges also did not respond - 6 in the California system, and 6 more in other western states. Yet when we compared the survey figures for graduate students with the so-called "hard data" of officially reported enrollments for the advanced degree (see Appendix B), the discrepancies in figures were not great for many states, and there were both greater and lesser sums in the survey's reports as compared to the official data. The overall difference was 453 fewer graduate students accounted for in the APSA survey, due to considerable under-reporting for Colorado and Oregon, and some for Nevada, Washington, and California. The discrepancies convince us that the government has just as much difficulty in securing reports as the Association does, and that the accuracy of their figures should not be overestimated. So we intend to use both, as reported in Appendix B, to evaluate the situation for graduates and faculty in the West, and especially the numbers of women.

STUDENT DISTRIBUTION AND ATTRITION IN THE WEST

There is evidence to indicate that political science presents an image as a predominantly "male subject" from the undergraduate perspective on through advanced studies. While not quite half of all of those

in undergraduate education have been women (45%), far fewer, proportionally, take political science as their major (20%), according to federal statistics on enrollments.* In the West a greater percentage of women are enrolled in the major (24%), from the reports of the APSA 1969 survey. The West accounts for 21% of all political science undergraduates and 25% of all women undergraduates; in each case the share is more than would be expected. While there is generally a considerable reduction in the numbers of students enrolled for graduate degrees in political science, there is a greater successive attrition in the relative proportion of women. The relative drop in women political science students nationwide occurs most sharply at the step from the master's to the doctoral programs (Table 1, column 5). In the West the overall rate of attrition is even stronger and it is most sharply evident at the point of enrollment in master's programs (Table 1, column 7). Thus while the West trains proportionally more students for degrees in political science at every level (Table 1, column 2) than its relative proportion of western professional practitioners (Appendix A), the ratio of women to men so rapidly diminishes as to undersupply even that quota.

TABLE 1

POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENT ENROLLMENT: APSA SURVEY 1969

Level	National	West	Percent Western	Women in Political Science: National	Percent	West	Percent
Under-graduate	58,381	12,342	21.1%	11,670	19.98%	2,969	24.05%
M.A. Prog.	6,042	1,353	22.3%	1,131	18.7%	219	16.1%
Ph.D. Prog.	3,655	796	21.7%	539	14.7%	109	13.9%

One reason for the greater share of political science students than practitioners in the West may be the predominance of public coeducational colleges and universities. We assume they have larger undergraduate classes,

*See U.S.H.E.W., Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics: Opening Fall Enrollment, Fall 1968: Part A - Summary Data; also APSA 1969 Survey of Departments, Table 1, column 5.

are more accessible (more frequently located in urban areas, for example) and cheaper, so that more students relative to the population receive some higher education in them. Thus Schuck indicates nationally that there are 44% of the departments (208) reporting from public coeducational institutions, as compared to the 72% (46) we found in the western set.* Another major contrast is that of the relative numbers of sex-segregated institutions nationally - 8.5% of the departments reported from women's colleges and 3% from men's colleges, whereas there were so few in the West as to be a neglibible percentage (and none of their departments responded to the APSA 1969 survey.**) This may also account for the regional contrasts in the relative share of women continuing in political science, where the West shows such a great decline, especially in initial graduate enrollments. Jessie Bernard has very perceptively noted the "nurturing" atmosphere of the women's colleges, encouraging women to view themselves as capable of continuing in professional careers.*** With a good number of women on their political science faculties, the "male image" of this discipline would be considerably lessened in the eyes of the women undergraduates at the women's college, and she would not experience in the

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*In the West, 75.5% (9373) of the men and 78.9% (2343) of the women were in public institutions, all of them coeducational. Economic and family considerations may account for the somewhat greater proportion of women attending the less costly, and possibly more local, public institutions. See Patricia K. Cross, "College Women: A Research Description." Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Women's Deans and Counselors, Chicago, Illinois, April 5, 1968, pp. 3-4. She indicates family financial considerations weigh more heavily on whether women attend college from middle and lower class families, and we know from our survey that more western women taking political science have this family background than is typical nationally.

**See Schuck, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," op. cit., p. 647.

***Jessie Bernard, Academic Women (Cleveland & New York: Meridian Books), 1966, Chapter 2, pp. 29-40.

classroom quite as much the sex role conflicts of those women political science students taking their courses in coed institutions.* There may also be more encouragement for the women undergraduates attending the "undergraduate only" institutions, where relatively more women teach on the political science faculties nationally (1/3), than in the West (1/4). As we see later on, those women who do teach in departments where there are graduate programs tend to be at the lowest ranks, most often with no tenure and with high turnover. The perceived lower, marginal status of the faculty woman could have quite a dampening effect upon budding career aspirations, especially when the woman senior student contemplates whether to go on to graduate school, and in what discipline - a very crucial time of commitment, especially for the woman student in the West.

Again, the regional differences are considerable when we look at where the graduate political science students take their training. In the subsequent APSA survey questionnaires**, the women graduate students reporting from the West showed a low 20.3% attending private schools, as compared to a national 38.0%, and an even larger 45.7% of women graduates in the East attending private institutions. This is one more indication of a somewhat more "egalitarian" or less expensive graduate training obtained by western women graduates than in other regions. Interestingly, they are more like the male graduate students nationally, 21.0% of whom take graduate training in public institutions. To our biased perspective, this suggests that the western trained woman political scientist tends to

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*See Schuck, op. cit., Table 4b, p. 649. See also Patricia K. Cross, op. cit., p. 14.

**Sent to all women listed APSA members, and with a control sample of men on the same list; plus a mailing from graduate women via departmental rosters, and APSA members, and from a control of graduate men, similarly reached.

be less of a "hot-house flower" and less socialized to the upper class manner. We shall see further substantiation, in terms of class origins, income and family, when we consider factors in the socialization and survival of the woman in political science.

The western share of degrees produced in the discipline (17.9% of M.A.'s and 16.3% of Ph.D.'s for 1969-70), when compared to student enrollments, indicates that attrition before achieving the intended degree is also a greater problem generally for graduates in the West. The California institutions again predominate in total degree production (63.5% of all western degrees, with Colorado's 7% coming in second!), making that state a major supply source. It contributes more women obtaining master's in the discipline than all the other western states put together. But some of the smaller states look much better in terms of the proportions of women students who receive doctorates, namely Hawaii (the "n" of 2 does reduce the achievement!), Colorado and Oregon.

We also note the severe drop in the relative share of women doctorates in California, as compared to their larger share of M.A.'s. This is a very serious situation of attrition, especially when we consider that in recent years about 4/5 of all Ph.D.'s have M.A.'s in political science. A look at the enrollment figures for graduate programs in political science (Appendix B) suggests a crucial reason for this. The U.C. (public university) system in California shows the women surviving beyond the first year at a somewhat greater rate proportionately than the men. The private universities show only a slightly greater attrition of the share of women at the advanced level. But the greatest numbers of first level students are found in the state college system, more than all those in the public or private universities of the state (500 as compared to 399, for Fall 1969). These state colleges offer terminal master's degrees,

necessitating a transfer if the student wishes to go on for the Ph.D. Having to transfer may discourage relatively more women graduate M.A.'s for a variety of reasons. First, there is the problem of location constraints if the woman graduate is married, especially if she has a family. While there could be a university with a doctoral program nearby, the constraint will limit numbers of admissions applications and thus the likelihood of being accepted.* This raises another serious question as to the admissions policies of the major universities with doctoral programs: Do they tend to be as favorable toward admissions of state college students with M.A.'s as those they keep on from their own M.A. programs, or those from other major universities? We wish it were possible to scrutinize more closely the admissions biases of those departments turning out most of the Ph.D.'s in the discipline. We get few hints of the admissions problems of graduate students from their own replies to the questionnaire survey, as the decision-making aspects are some of the many selective processes, or "gateways," that are presently closed to outside scrutiny.

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The graduate enrollment figures for the West indicate quite clearly that the ratio of women to men in graduate training is currently greater if they are in smaller departments offering advanced degrees (Appendix B), and that occurs most often in the public universities of the less populous states. The women comprised a greater proportion of the master's candidates in such states as Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Hawaii, Oregon and Wyoming. Indeed, Wyoming had a majority of women among its total M.A. students numbering just nine! All of Nevada's three advanced students in political

*This receives partial confirmation in the questionnaire findings reported further on.

science are women!

However, many of those same states indicate no doctoral students in political science, so that we are led to conclude that those women reported as enrolled graduates "beyond the first year" are still working for their master's degree. They may be more frequently part-time students, which would be in accord with what other studies have shown. The women are more often constrained by competing family concerns or the need to work in order to continue graduate studies.* Well more than half of all western women in doctoral programs were found in California departments (75 of 109, with the rest being trained in Washington, Colorado, Arizona, Oregon, Utah, Hawaii, and Idaho, in descending numbers. See Appendix D.) Since considerable attrition tends to take place before the completion of the dissertation by the very few, the outlook is not too promising for the West producing many women Ph.D.'s unless the current patterns change.

This leads to a concern with the incentives or advantages which could be made available to help these graduate women achieve their academic goals. Various aspects of this question will be discussed in the next section, but we would like to consider first some of those having to do simply with the location of the women, and what the professional opportunities may look like from their perspective.

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*See U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Health, Resources for Medical Research Report #13: Special Report on Women and Graduate Study (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968, vii (data based on a probability sample of 41,000 graduating seniors in 135 colleges). Also Jessie Bernard, op. cit., pp. 212, 221; George L. Gropper and Robert Fitzpatrick, Who Goes to Graduate School?: A Study of the Decision to Enter Graduate Training (Pittsburgh, Pa.: American Institute for Research, 1959, p. 39.)

One of the major factors in good placement and likely career success is the prestige of the department whose degree one carries and the perceived quality of the training. We therefore looked at the latest ranking of the quality and effectiveness of graduate programs in political science recently published by the American Council on Education.* Appendix C indicates the distribution of faculty and graduate students, and the percent women, for the prestige departments and the others, by type. First, we must emphasize how few women Ph.D.'s in the West come from the prestige departments - only five women doctorates in the given year for those ranked in the top twenty nationally. Seven times as many men received these prestigious degrees.

Caplow and McGee claim in The Academic Marketplace, that women are considered outside the academic prestige system entirely, and thus are of no use to a department in future recruitment.** A look at the faculty of these prestige departments would confirm the little use they have for women. Collectively, only 5% of their rather sizeable faculty (163 members altogether) are women. Even more lamentable is the location of these women faculty by rank. No woman at these prestige departments is a full professor, and only two have achieved associate professor standing with tenure. The rest are assistant professors, and fully one-half of the women (4) have that ephemeral rank designated as "other" - usually a lectureship, adjunct or other very marginal status. One of these depart-

*Kenneth D. Roose and Charles J. Andersen, A Rating of Graduate Programs (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971), pp. 64-65.

**Theodore Caplow and Reese McGee, The Academic Marketplace (New York: Basic Books, 1958), p. 111.

ments (Stanford) has no women at all on its faculty, and it is of interest to note that neither did this department contribute any of the women Ph.D.'s in the reported year.

Most of these women are obviously placed in the "heavy teaching load" and auxiliary positions, where they have little contact with graduate students. We wonder how the woman graduate student views the faculty women in these positions. Does she see this as a very probable career outcome for herself as well? Does she prefer to try to emulate the more eminent men on the staff? Is there any encouragement for her where there is no, or at best just one, practicing professional woman she can observe as having survived in a "man's world?"

Other studies have shown that women are less likely to be hired by status institutions and public universities, that they are often confined to teaching required courses, and are not expected to promote disciples or be innovators.* The composition of the faculties of the other universities having doctoral programs in the West confirms that dismal generalization. Just four of these 13 departments had one woman on their staff at that time! Two women were at the assistant professor level, one was an instructor and one was that category of "other." This amounts to a deplorable 1.7% of their total combined faculty, which averaged very nearly 18 members per department. The percentage of women in their graduate programs is about the same, overall, as that for the prestige institutions. One wonders even more strongly how they view their career futures, with no women faculty in most of these departments, especially

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*Anne E. Davis, "Women as a Minority Group in Higher Academics," The American Sociologist, May 1969, p. 97; also Rita Simon, Shirley Clark, Kathleen Galway, "The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile," Social Problems, v. 15, Fall 1967, p. 224.

those having the greater share of the graduate students, or in those few with a "token" woman in a low or marginal rank.

The situation improves for those departments granting only master's degrees. In terms of sheer numbers some departments in the California state college system have gone far beyond tokenism, with many women teaching courses, although again primarily at the lower ranks. The situation there is encouraging, however, as most of them are at least on the regular academic ladder, and they are probably just recently out of graduate school, with promotions to look forward to. While the numbers are small, the other departments with master's programs also have a good share of women on their faculty. We even find three women full professors in a couple of public universities - the only three such in the West, as far as the APSA survey was able to ascertain! Also impressive are the percentages of graduate women in their master's programs, over a third of the relatively small numbers these departments are training. Perhaps the small size of these graduate programs generate more encouragement for women - greater faculty contacts, more congeniality, less anonymity, or less competition? This should be explored further, using trend analysis.

In terms of expected career futures, therefore, the current women degree recipients are well advised to forget about the prestige institutions. If the existing patterns were to prevail, their chances would be even less for getting a job in the other major universities of the West which train doctoral students and therefore are likely to encourage research, publications and other extra-curricular professional activities. However, many of these institutions are becoming aware of the federal government's enforcement of equal employment opportunity guidelines, and the sanction of possibly losing federal contract monies may move some of these departments to hire women in the near future. If so, these depart-

ments may become the "happy hunting grounds" for women political science job seekers, if one may perceive these sex-segregated deserts as such!

There is another important job constraint operating for many women, however. As other studies have indicated, married women suffer from a lack of geographical mobility, or must consider being hired in tandem with a spouse located in the same department, institution or area.* This has typically led to exploitation in terms of lower salaries and positions; as wives they cannot be autonomous or competitive. Their geographic availability puts them in a poor bargaining position, and that may explain the many low and marginal statuses of the women faculty at the major departments with graduate programs.

Salary levels are another indicator of relative bargaining power or competitive position. The APSA questionnaire survey allows us to compare the salary brackets of those women in political science who received their final graduate training in western institutions, with those of all women political scientists nationally, as well as with the men nationally in the control sample.**

Figure 1 indicates the comparative distribution of incomes from their own professional work, during the "past year" (asked in 1970). It appears fairly clear that the western-trained women in political science are somewhat better off in terms of their own earnings, than are the women colleagues nationally, although fewer proportionally have reached the next-to-highest income bracket. But even so, they and their

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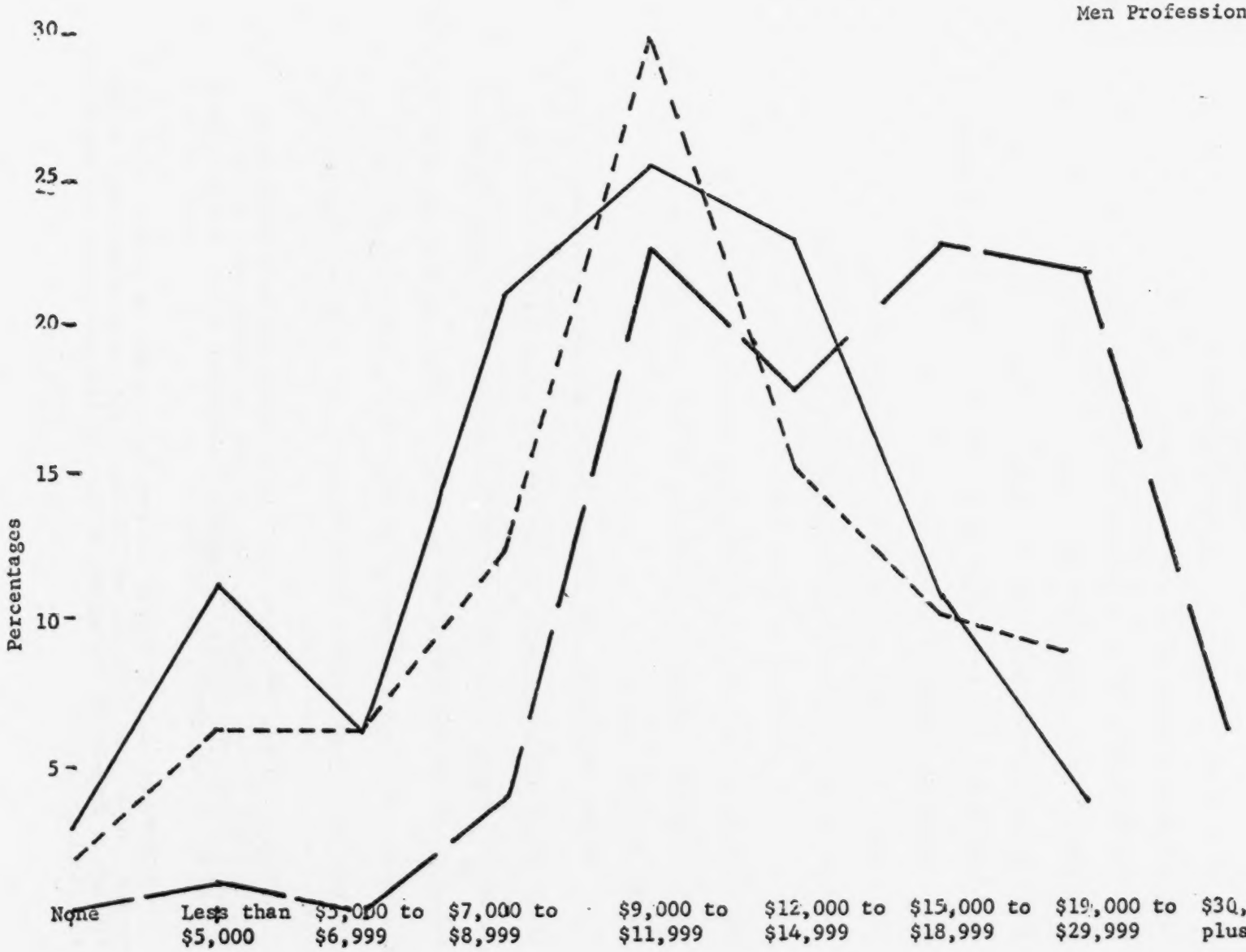
*Lotte Bailyn, "Notes on the Role of Choice in the Psychology of Professional Women," Daedalus, Vol. 93, No. 2, Spring 1964, p. 704; David K. Brown, The Mobile Professors (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1967), pp. 79-80.

**The male control sample was not large enough to analyze only those trained in the West with any confidence in the representativeness of the findings. Concerning the nature of the sampling procedure, see the following section.

Figure One
Income Earnings From Own Professional Work: Professionals

Source: APSA Survey, 1970
Women Professionals, West ————
Women Professionals, Total — — — —
Men Professionals, Total —— ——



counterparts in the national profession show a more depressed income curve than the men in the profession, and do not reach the highest level of earnings at all.

The placement picture for women in western political science is brought home by the findings of the APSA survey. In terms of size of department and type of institution, it is the very small, private co-educational institution which most often will have one or more women on its faculty. These are usually the "teaching-oriented" colleges, which often produce the best-trained undergraduates, but which have no emphasis upon research, publications, or other such professional activity. Yet the women have had a better chance of attaining higher ranks in these smaller departments. While there are more women by number being employed at the medium-size and large public coeducational institution, half of them are found in the state college systems, typically at the lower ranks and with heavy teaching loads. As we have noted, the rest tend to be single isolates, a "token" in the midst of large male faculties, and generally carrying the heavier teaching and undergraduate counseling duties that go with the lowest ranks. If we can judge by aggregate data, this appears to be the case nationally as well. This receives further confirmation in the responses to the questionnaire about whether the respondent was currently engaged in research. A mere half (48.9%) of the women trained in the West had jobs which involved research, in contrast to all the women in the profession nationally (55% doing research), and greatly in contrast with the men, 70% of whom had research opportunities. Also, there are not the numbers of women's colleges available in the West (as there are in the East) which can provide a more sympathetic regard for the educated woman (6.4% of western-trained women teach in them as compared to 11.9% of the women from eastern institutions).

We also note that fewer western women trained in political science work in academic institutions (74.5%) than do their eastern counterparts (80.2%). The eastern-trained woman political scientist is more like the man in this regard, 81% of whom have academic work, in the national sample. We believe this is one more indication of the traditional hostility of the many western public education insitutions toward women practicing in academic political science.

Do the rest go into government? Actually not as many western-trained women professionals do so (10.6%) as do their national counterparts (14%), but the percentage figure for both is higher than that for men in the profession (6%). There appears to have been a negligible number of western-trained women political scientists working at the state and local levels of government.

That all this amounts to frustrated career aspirations for many is driven home by the question about whether in the first job placement they obtained the kind of position they had hoped for upon completing their graduate training. Women trained in the West responded somewhat less frequently that they were definitely satisfied with the type of job they got (29.8%) than the women placed from all regions (32%), and greatly in contrast to the men who so responded (49%). If the past case were to continue, the placement picture would not be very promising for the women who are now getting their degrees in the West. As Brown's extensive study has indicated, the woman is less likely to gain from a second job move than the academic male.*

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*..."men move to higher prestige schools twice as frequently as women (30% versus 15%)." Brown, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

Therefore her position in a small college or one requiring heavy teaching loads would not constitute a likely base from which she propels herself upward, to more prestigious positions with better professional perquisites.

If one seeks a more hopeful side to the picture, we might add that the political science women trained in the West tend to be somewhat younger, and that very few of them have spent fifteen years or more in the profession (4.3% of the women from the West, as compared to 15.8% of those from the East, and 17.9% from the Midwest). There is also a relatively greater youthfulness of the current western women graduate students in the discipline, as compared to her national counterparts, and especially as compared to the male graduates (83.6% western women born in the forties, 73% of women graduates nationally, 71% of the men in graduate training.) Thus we can hope than the more recent increase in the recruitment of women for professional training in the West will have its impact on the practicing profession. The new women degree recipients should find more receptiveness than the women before her. Those teaching at the lower ranks may rise on the academic ladder more easily. We all hope to see the promising signs that this is so.

OBSTACLES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS TO CAREER ADVANCEMENT: SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST ?

To examine the western case we selected from the national sample of the APSA survey those women graduate respondents and professionals whose last or final graduate training had been in the West.* This division of the samples appeared most appropriate since graduate school

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*See the Converse' description, in their paper, op. cit., pp. 2-5.

provides the arena in which students of any discipline become socialized and professionalized in their chosen career. Final graduate training is where career expectations become sharpened and concern about preparation for possible future jobs comes to the fore.

Original Family Situation

Other studies have shown that the parents of women college students are better educated and the family income higher than that of males who attend college.* The same situation holds for women political science graduates nationally; the western women graduates, however, show a definite contrast. In the western sample of graduate women, as shown by Figure 3, both the father's and mother's education tended to terminate earlier, and fewer of their parents had graduate degrees than the parents of the women graduates nationally. If education is a fair indicator of social class, one can say the western women's families are more strongly concentrated in the middle class.

The women professionals from the West report generally lower educational levels attained by the father, but a markedly high contingent of college-educated mothers. This suggests a pattern of upward mobility more like that of the men nationally, than of their own sex. It also appears that western women have educational aspirations more in accord with their mothers'. In any case, women graduate students have parents who are more educated, by and large, as compared to the male graduates.

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*Cross, op. cit., p. 3.

Figure Two
Parental Education: Graduate Students

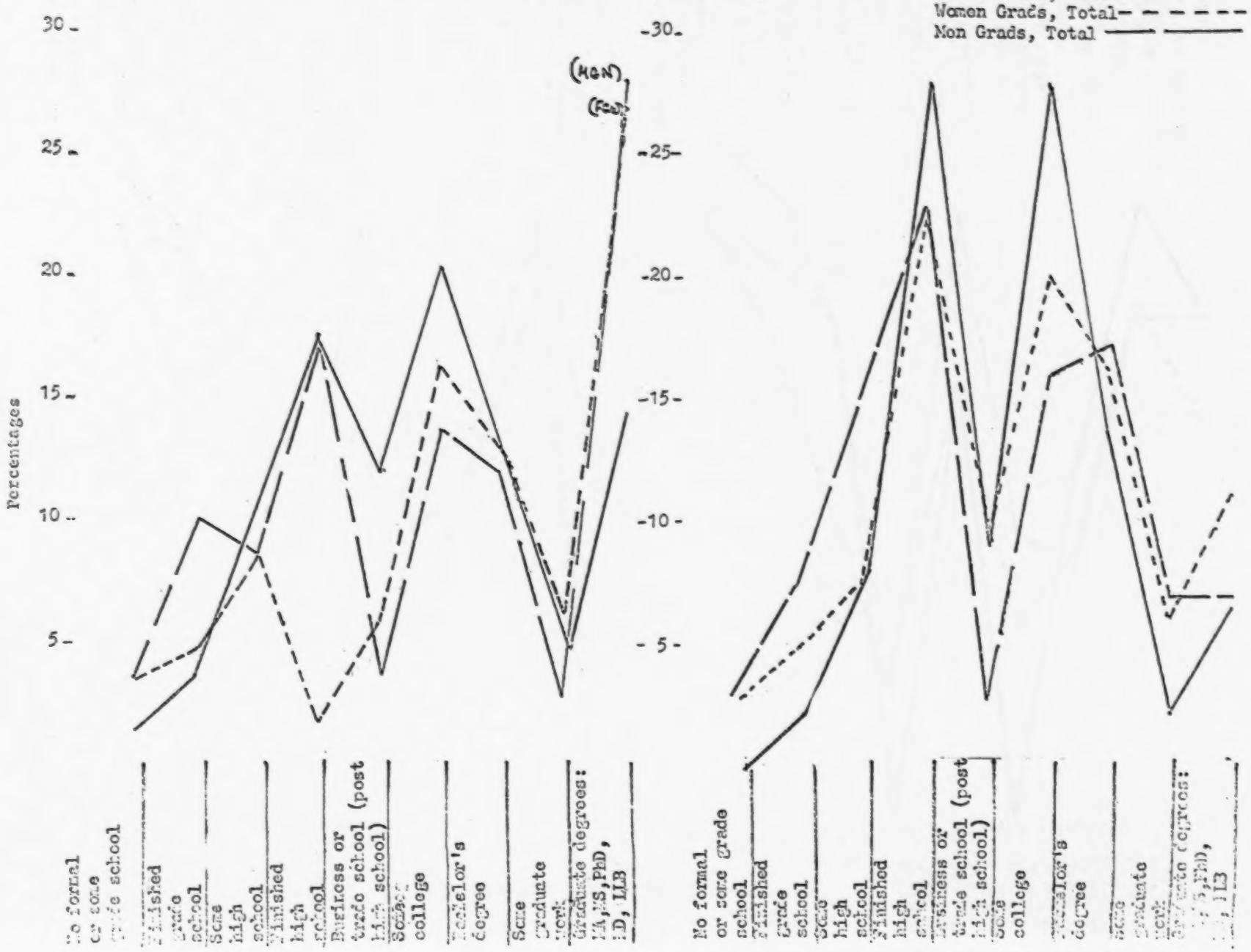
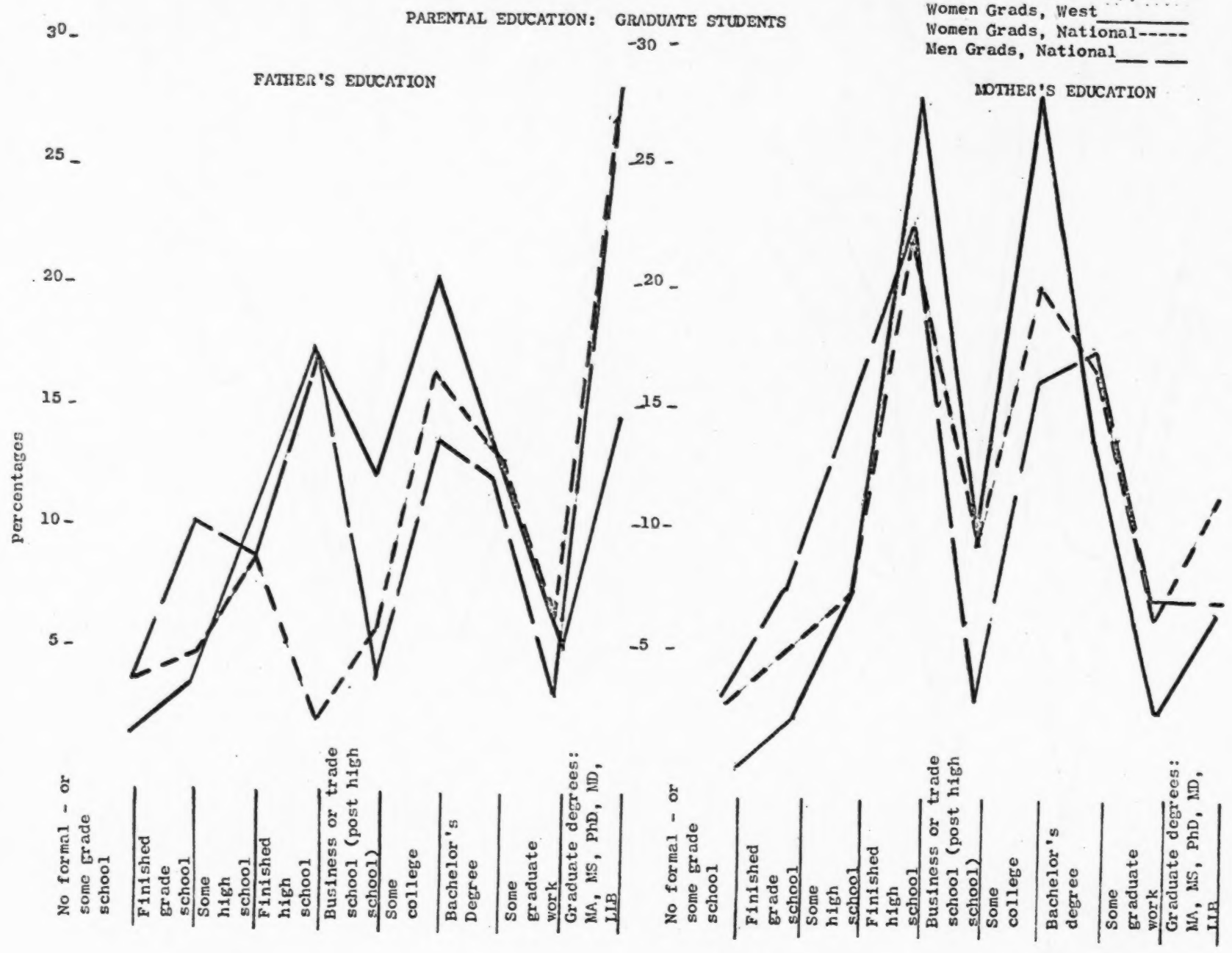


FIGURE 2

PARENTAL EDUCATION: GRADUATE STUDENTS

Source: APSA Survey, 1970
Women Grads, West
Women Grads, National-----
Men Grads, National



A positive maternal support could be an important factor in the western women's career persistence.*

Studies have noted that when a family has more than one child to support and limited resources, the tendency is to give the son(s) the preference in financial support for continued education.** This could explain the greater numbers of male graduates in political science coming from families with relatively lower education. Gropper and Fitzpatrick have found that political scientists more than those in other professional careers, exhibit upward mobility and Cross suggests that women are more dependent than men for financial support from home.*** This dependency would further discourage women from lower income families from obtaining advanced education and going on to professional careers.

Initial Survival Point

Data were obtained by the survey on what we consider a significant gateway point: applications and admissions to the graduate departments of political science. The Converse' point out that 36% of both the male and female national samples applied to only one school. This is in contrast to the 40.5% of the women graduates in the West applying to just one school. We attribute this difference to the fact that public institutions are more numerous in the West and we believe the applicants view these public schools as more likely to admit them. Thus multiple

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*While the percentage ranges are not large, there is confirmation of this for western women in the questions directly concerning parental support.

**Bernard, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

***Gropper and Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 15; Cross, op. cit., p. 4.

applications would be made less often by women from the West. As in the Converse' study, we attempted to measure achievement at this level - the average quality of the accepting schools, in proportion to the average quality of the preferred schools. The measure turned out, however, to be as non-revealing on the western data as it was for the national set. It is important to note, however, that the respondents are necessarily only the survivors of the admissions process. Any women or men "rejects" who had made only one application would not even be in the samples.

One would have to explore further the question of undergraduate counselling and the advice and encouragement of faculty, and also the tendency of women toward "self-selection" out of the graduate race. These might further explain the fact of attrition in numbers and relative percentages for women in first year graduate political science, as noted previously (p.7). We get some evidence of discouraging advice, or faculty indifference, for example, in the University of California-Berkeley study of the status of women on that campus.* The recent Newman report from Stanford University, points out that the main rationale for educational sexism is that education for women is a "poor investment," that women will inevitably drop out to become wives and mothers.** Of course, we cannot overlook the choice of many graduating women seniors to devote themselves to marriage and children, or their expectation of doing so in the near future. But this may also be an

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*University of California, Academic Senate, Berkeley Division, Report on Committee on Senate Policy: Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus, May 19, 1970, pp. 69-71.

**Frank Newman, Newman Task Force on Higher Education, Stanford University. As quoted in Parade Magazine of Oregonian, May 30, 1971.

unwanted constraint on career hopes for many women. The H.E.W. Special Report on Women and Graduate Study indicated that four out of ten women who desired to attend graduate school in 1961 were unable to do so by 1964.* In any case, it would appear that much talent is lost in the case of women who choose not to go on to graduate school, whether due to alternative choices, social and cultural self-definitions, or lack of faculty encouragements.**

School Choice

Choice of schools directly relates to the question of career survival as well. A slightly larger percentage of female graduate students in the West mentioned money, jobs, or financial aid as being a reason for selecting a graduate school than did the national female and male graduate samples. This again may be related to their more frequent middle class background, where funding more education for the women can be worrisome. The female graduate national and western samples also mentioned location as one of the reasons for selecting a graduate school more frequently than did the national male graduate sample (60% female graduate national sample, 58.1% female graduate western sample, as compared to 40% of the male graduate national sample.) It is obvious to us that the national male graduates are not concerned with location to the same extent that women are. Again, this difference may be due to the greater constraint marriage imposes on the woman, even though we have found fewer women graduates in the West currently married (45.9% compared to 50% of women graduates

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*Op. cit., pp. vii, 5.

**For an extensive and sensitive study of the components of the "identity stress" in the recruitment and training of women in a profession, see "Sex Status and Occupational Dilemmas," in Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), especially pp. 346-354 (Davis and Olesen).

nationally, and 72% of the male graduates). Furthermore, not as many of them were planning marriage (5.4% in contrast with the 10% for both men and women graduates nationally.) A greater percent of the western women were not anticipating marriage at all (36.5% of the western women, 30% of the women graduates nationally, and 15% of the male graduates nationally).

The overriding criterion in the choice of a graduate school for the male national sample is reputation. The women nationally and in the West cited this reason somewhat less often (59.5% of the women graduates in the West, 62% nationally; but 64% of the national male graduates). Considering the reputation of the department to which the aspirant applies for graduate work is a fairly strong indicator of awareness and absorption in the professionalization process.

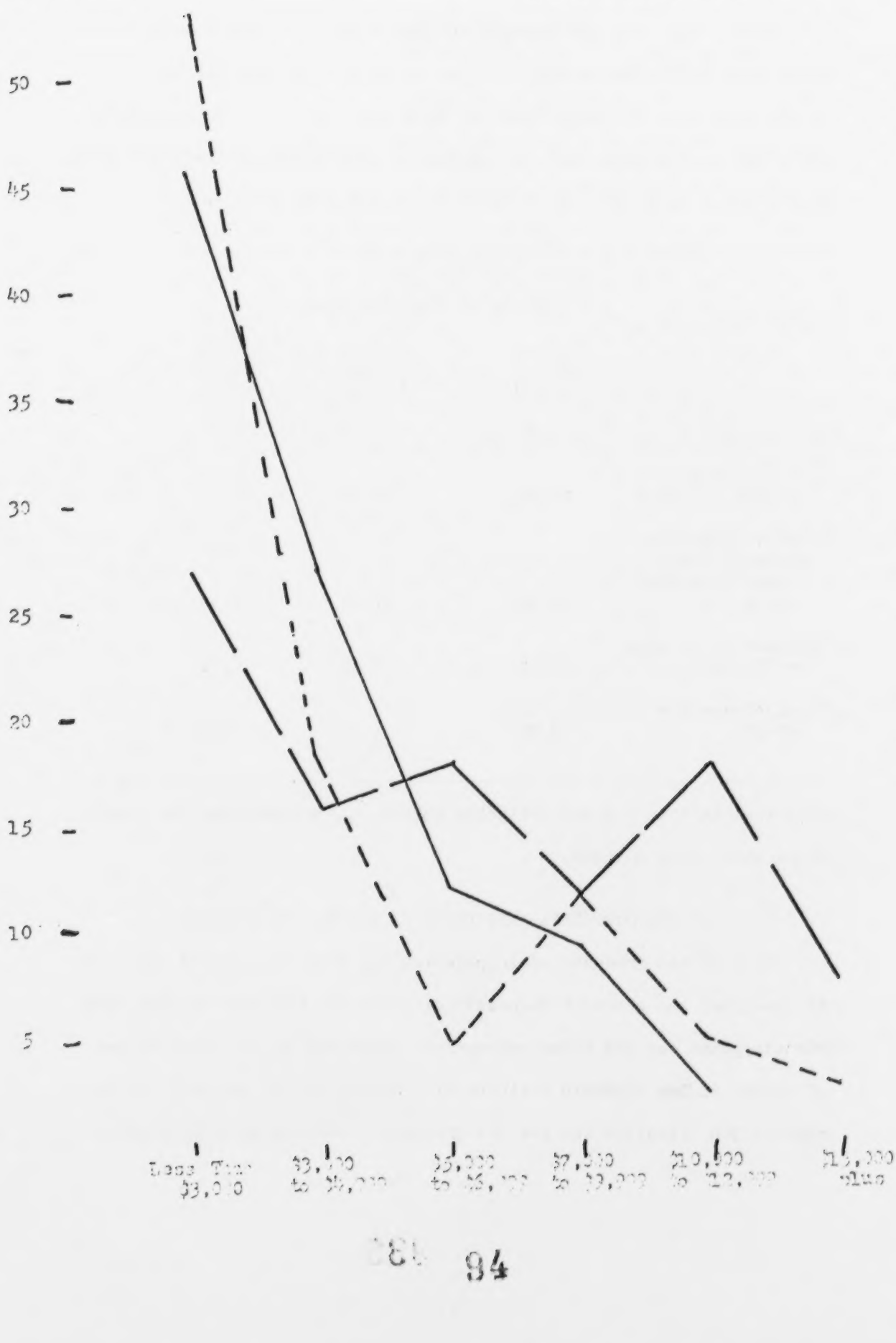
The Economic Circumstances of Graduate Women

The economic circumstances of our three samples differ greatly. Our women graduates in the West tend to make less money than the national men and women graduate samples. More female graduates in the West are at the lower income levels up to $6,999 in the past year (85.1% for the female graduates in the West as compared to 76% of the female graduates total and 61% of the male graduates total.) Males are making appreciably more than either female group as can be seen in Figure 4.

Further, one can see from Table 2 that women graduate students in the West have fewer fellowships than either their national counterparts or those in the male sample. The implication is that western women graduates are getting less support and material rewards from professors and departments compared to the typical situation nationally. Economic circumstances, then require a resort to other means of support to obtain graduate education. The fact that more female graduates in the West reported being employed part-time than the other two samples carries no clear mean-

Figure Four

Percentage Distribution of Income Among The Graduate Samples
Female Graduates, West
Female Graduates, Total
Male Graduates, Total



ing as the samples were not differentiated into assistantships or fellowships with work obligations and those who work part-time at other jobs (waitress, checker, etc.). What is also very interesting is the fact that the women from the West and the male national sample are alike in the percentage not employed. The female graduate national sample shows fewer working in order to attend graduate school.

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT PREVIOUS YEAR*

	Female Graduates in West	Female Graduates Total	Male Graduates Total
Not employed	9.5%	15.0%	9.5%
On fellowship - no work involved	17.6%	23.0%	22.0%
Student part-time employed (includes assistantships)	51.4%	33.0%	34.0%
Employed by College or University	1.4%	9.0%	7.0%
Teach elementary school	8.0%	3.0%	2.0%

*Note that in this and the following tables, the respondents who gave don't knows were omitted.

JOB CONCERNS: ANTICIPATIONS AND DISCOURAGEMENTS

What do the graduate women perceive are their chances of surviving in the study and practice of political science? How does it look from their viewpoint and are these perceptions supported by the observations of others in their academic environment? First, let us consider the immediate job situation and how the graduates surveyed were involved in

the placement process. When asked to indicate their prospects and arrangements for their professional future, the women graduates generally indicate fewer actual prospects underway.

TABLE 3

FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR JOBS

	Female Grads in West	Female Grads Total Sample	Male Grads Total Sample
Seeking employment with no specific prospects	35.1%	32%	21%
Negotiating with specific employer	8.1%	7%	7%
Signed contracts or have definite commitments	9.5%	11%	26%
Returning to or continuing in pre-doctoral employment	9.5%	13%	17%

While very slightly more of the western women are in negotiations, fewer of them than their national counterparts have the security of actual signed contracts or commitments to be employed in the following year. The contrasts with the men graduate students is quite marked. Many more of the men have already secured a job or are continuing their previous employment; much fewer are still looking. The job insecurity for those women graduates still searching is a rather gloomy situation, experienced even more by the women in the West. It already brings home to them their lack of competitive advantage relative to their male colleagues, whether the constraints operating are of their own choice (marriage, location, etc.) or indicators of indifference and negativism by faculty sponsors,

placement services, and/or employers.*

It is interesting to note the relative degree of awareness of discrimination, i.e., the consciousness of actually experiencing it, as contrasted to the observations of others. The woman graduate student may suspect she is not getting a fair shake, but does she know that is actually the case in her own situation? When women graduate students were asked the degree of problems they felt during the course of their own graduate education, specifically due to their sex, they reported varying levels of perceived discrimination at the different gateway points on the way to their career.

TABLE 4

PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION IN GRADUATE TRAINING*

	Grad Female West	Grad Female East	Grad Male Total	Female Profs. West	Female Profs. East	Male Profs. Total
Standards for admission to grad school	31.2%	37%	46%	31.9%	23%	47%
Standard for admission to grad department	27.1%	37%	43%	25.5%	19%	35%
Financial Assistance Scholarship	51.4%	49%	58%	42.6%	40%	56%
Performance expected in exam or thesis	29.8%	28%	26%	21.3%	24%	18%
Candidacy to advanced degree	36.5%	26%	42%	19.2%	21%	31%
Conduct of undergraduate discussion sections	39.3%	28%	32%	19.1%	23%	30%
Placement service	37.9%	40%	57%	23.0%	33%	44%
General support of professors	58.1%	51%	52%	31.9%	29%	45%
Follow up of interest of professors	41.9%	40%	51%	34.0%	35%	44%

*This reinforces what was an earlier finding in the Henderson study

**Note that for the female graduate and professional samples, their

The unfair treatment most frequently cited by the Western women graduates concerned the support of their professors. This does confirm our prior speculation and what the Berkeley study indicated. In fact, it seems to be those areas of supportiveness and encouragements, material and otherwise, where the western women graduates most often cite personal discrimination in their graduate experience: financial assistance, advancement to candidacy and conducting discussion sections.

Comparing their replies to those of the male graduates who were asked where they perceived discrimination against women shows some revealing contrasts. The men tend generally to see more discrimination than the women report experiencing! This is not so paradoxical when one considers that so many of the crucial points in the recruitment process are subject to "closed decision-making," where women cannot be sure there was discrimination. This is especially the case at those points where the practice amounts to a sifting out of the victims, such as in admissions, exams, advancing to candidacy, and, to some degree, financial assistance. As the Converse' note, the survivors - i.e., those remain-

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of Woodrow Wilson Fellows in 1958 and 1959. The men had three times the initial job offers and were thus more able to secure their preferred positions than their women cohorts. The study also showed that the women, though equal to the men in performance, received lower ranks and salaries in their initial appointments. Jean C.G. Henderson, "Women as College Teachers," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967, as cited in The Status of Academic Women, ERIC, Clearing House on Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University), April 1971, pp. 2-3.

responses concern discrimination experiences, while the male graduate and faculty samples are reporting "perceived" discrimination against women. The Converse' study gives the wording used in the questions.

ing and thus reporting on their experience - could very well feel they are the "lucky survivors", and thus not the ones discriminated against. The third-party observer reports of the men, therefore, may contribute to a more realistic picture. The men especially emphasize observing discrimination in placements and in financial assistance - and these, we have noted, can be very crucial discouragements for the woman career aspirant. The men also more frequently perceive discrimination in both standards for graduate and departmental admissions, in advancement to degree candidacy and in the follow-up interest of professors. We note with some ironic amusement that the one area in which the men graduates see less discrimination than the women feel, however slightly, is that of the performance expected in examinations or thesis. This may well be due to both the anonymity of exams and the competitiveness the men feel in that situation - or, as we like to muse, perhaps the women are clearly recognized as better performers at these stages!

To test the hypothesis that the survivors will regard themselves as lucky or more meritorious than those who have dropped out of their chosen careers, one can check the observations of the women professors as to their retrospective experience of discrimination during their graduate student phase. To be consistent with this outlook they should report less experience of discrimination than those currently undergoing the processes of selection, that is, they should feel they were more favored, relatively speaking, more encouraged and recognized for their achievements and thus successful. The reports of both the women professionals from the West and those nationally would appear to confirm this. They consistently report discrimination in these experiences less frequently than do the current women graduate students. The difference is most striking at those selection points in the graduate program where the

discouragements could operate most effectively: financial assistance, advancement to candidacy, placements, and current support of professors. Far fewer women in the discipline from the West reported felt discrimination in the conduct of discussion sections, which may indicate they felt they were quite effective as teachers from the start, or it may be due to less experience with this form of instruction in the past.

Finally, consider the reports of the male professionals who not only represent the far greater share of practitioners, but as the Converse' report, . are also much more likely to be those very decision-makers and judges who are policing the gateways to professional practice. Note how many more of them report discrimination, especially in graduate and departmental admissions, in financial assistance, in job placement practices, in the support given women by professors, and in follow-up interest in them, once they are in the field. Again, only concerning the examination-thesis stages do they less frequently perceive unfair treatment. Once more we like to think this is the point where objective performance prevails! However, the rather significant conclusion is that the practitioners themselves admit to the prevalence of discrimination against women in their discipline. If this admission is as candid and open in the public discussions by members of the profession, perhaps that recognition will be the first step toward correction.

While the authors may express this hope, those anticipating careers in the near future certainly do not see the likelihood of change. Table 5 indicates the responses concerning career difficulties for women as anticipated by the graduate samples, those experienced by the women professionals, and those observed by the men professionals.

TABLE 5

CAREER DIFFICULTIES DUE TO SEX*

	Female Grads West	Female Grads Total	Male Grads Total	Female Profs West	Female Profs Total	Male Profs Total
Consideration of job applications	86.4%	85%	84%	48.9%	46%	85%
Appointment to teaching positions	83.8%	81%	79%	38.3%	43%	75%
Initial rank assignments	77.0%	76%	60%	42.5%	34%	54%
Promotions	86.4%	79%	75%	44.7%	34%	56%
Tenure	81.1%	74%	65%	25.6%	22%	51%
Salary	78.4%	75%	59%	55.3%	44%	58%
Fringe Benefits	75.6%	67%	55%	31.9%	25%	38%
Participation in departmental or school decision-making*	81.1%	69%	62%	34.0%	31%	44%

Again we see what appears to be a generation gap between the graduate and professional samples, as the Converse' noted in their study. We have suggested that this may be due to the graduates' perception of the situation of faculty women (if any) in their graduate departments, and not simply personal apprehensions on the part of the women. This is plausible

*Note that for the graduate samples, their responses are "anticipatory perceptions," while the women faculty samples are reporting actual felt discrimination. The male faculty sample reports "perceived" discrimination against women.

since both men and women current graduates have responded so similarly. Furthermore, the western women graduates responded with greatest affirmation, and in contrast to their national peers, on just those points where the observations would match the patterns which we have reported as distinguishing the situation of western faculty women. For example, in the West the women graduates far more frequently feel that women are excluded from participation in departmental decision-making. This is quite understandable, given only three women found in tenured positions in the departments with doctoral programs in the West (Appendix D). In any case, this speaks for a great discouragement factor operating upon these women career aspirants and/or a tremendously rising level of consciousness among the new recruits, especially for the western graduate women.

We see the percentages of women in the profession reporting instances of job discrimination to be consistently less than those of their male colleagues who observe such practices. We again note that the men may well be in a better position to know what they are talking about, especially where decisions are made in which they far more frequently take part. For example, the men in the discipline just as often tend to confirm the anticipatory fears expressed by the graduate women concerning consideration of their job applications, and nearly as frequently confirm their fears about appointments to teaching positions. Only on the questions of fringe benefits and participation in decision-making do less than a majority of the men feel discrimination takes place.

It is interesting to note that the women in the discipline from the West cite salary discrepancies almost as frequently as the men, in significant contrast to the women professionals nationally. We wonder why. The weaker "pull" of their degrees? The poorer placement and job

support given them by their professors? These data are accompanied by more substantial reports from them of difficulties in initial rank assignments and promotions, which would tend to confirm that women from western departments have been given a poorer start on their careers and continue to suffer the consequences in terms of career achievement.

When the respondents reported on discrimination due to research - anticipated, experienced or observed - they indicated a lower level of response generally, but the same relative pattern. The women graduates in the West showed the strongest contrast with their national counterparts in anticipating problems concerning time to do research and opportunities to publish. This again may very well reflect their observations of the situation of most women faculty in their region, or it may be their anticipation of getting a job in those departments emphasizing undergraduate teaching. This could be the reason why they are also more likely to feel they won't have secretarial assistance for typing research findings, as these departments would least likely be able to provide that resource.

The most strongly cited point of discrimination concerned grant or fellowship funding for research. Again, the men in the profession most frequently agree with the graduates' anticipation. This very crucial means of facilitating research and publication is subject, once more, to a "closed" decision-making process. We can check somewhat roughly the observations and reports of the different groups against the relative percentages who actually received fellowships (the codebook we used did not distinguish those who received more than one award, and therefore the percentages could only be considered suggestive). We note that women graduates in the West less frequently held fellowships in the previous year. Nevertheless they expressed fears about funding somewhat

less than did their national counterparts and the male graduates. The women professionals from the West show more consistency, insofar as they tended to have had somewhat more government and foundation funding than their national counterparts, but the difference in actual funding were slight and the total number of recipients rather small to begin with. We note that the men in the profession report more frequently and consistently than the women themselves do, that discrimination is affecting the women's research opportunities and resources. Once more we think this may be due to better information.

In reflecting upon these responses to the question of discriminatory treatment, we find reasons for both concern and hope. We feel concern that the high anticipatory fears of the women graduates may act as a depressant to their career aspirations. We worry when they indicate some important degree of discrimination in their current graduate experience. This is especially serious where it will affect the chances of their survival in obtaining an advanced degree and then getting a good job. The women in the western graduate schools report a more serious problem of encouragement and support from their departments and faculty mentors. These often consist of the kind of informal practices and efforts which cannot be easily corrected by formal decree or sanction. It requires a resocialization of those men in the profession who carry responsibilities in the graduate programs and who make the decisions so crucial to career advancement in the discipline. We wish there were easy answers to the problem of changing attitudes and informal behavior. We appeal for thoughtful consideration of strategies for doing so. For example, what incentives and rewards can encourage non-discriminatory and even positive behavior?

Since many of the rewards in the profession come from recognition of

achievement and prestige status, perhaps the most effective targets of appeals for change should be those persons who set the tone for others, and those prestige departments which the others most often try to emulate. If the leadership of the profession would articulate their concern about these practices; if they would make visible efforts to counter those practices; if they would initiate policies which aid the women to overcome existing constraints and open up greater opportunities, perhaps we may witness a genuine reversal of the existing situation in the discipline. And if not, maybe hitting the pocketbook will help prod the reluctant. The Federal Contract Compliance actions undertaken recently calling for affirmative action programs on threat of the loss of funding, should convey the message with some note of urgency.

We find more positive reason for hope in the degree to which so many men admit that sex discrimination exists and that women experience significant difficulties in pursuing their career goals. This awareness can be the first step toward helping improve the situation. At least it grants the women in the profession the right to insist on better treatment and opportunities. We are especially encouraged at the high levels of agreement of male graduates with their female peers on the questions of discrimination. We think the younger generation in the discipline will more quickly come to define the norms of professional practice because of their sheer numbers relative to the older generation. And we have every reason to believe this is a generation which is most sensitive to the political issues of fairness and equality generally. While they may not all attain that euphoric 'Consciousness III" so celebrated for those in the counter-culture, there is underway that kind of reconsideration amongst many, concerning what our professional calling is all about. We expect therefore stronger emphasis on the norms and practices of equal treatment and opportunity in the profession in the future. From our evaluation of the data concerning the western situation, we can only conclude there is plenty of room for improvement.

APPENDIX A

COUNTS OF WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS
(States listed in rank order)

APSA Membership List 1970 (Individual Members)			National Science Foundation National Register 1970 "Professional Pol. Scientists" (Excludes British Columbia, Alberta, & Northwest Texas)			APSA 1969 Survey of Faculty in Pol. Science Depts.		
California	1249	62.7%	California	648	56.6%	California	377	50.6%
Washington	192	9.6%	Colorado	116	10.1%	Colorado	66	8.8%
Colorado	137	6.8%	Washington	107	9.3%	Arizona	55	7.3%
Oregon	115	5.7%	Arizona	64	5.5%	Washington	49	6.5%
Arizona	96	4.8%	Oregon	63	5.5%	Utah	46	6.1%
Utah	56	2.8%	Hawaii	41	3.5%	Oregon	45	6.0%
New Mexico	43	2.1%	Utah	28	2.4%	Montana	25	3.3%
Nevada	26	1.3%	New Mexico	22	1.9%	Hawaii	24	3.2%
Montana	24	1.2%	Nevada	16	1.3%	New Mexico	19	2.5%
Idaho	22	1.1%	Idaho	15	1.3%	Idaho	16	2.1%
Hawaii	18	0.9%	Montana	13	1.1%	Nevada	12	1.6%
Wyoming	7	0.3%	Wyoming	7	0.6%	Wyoming	8	1.0%
Alaska	6	0.3%	Alaska	4	0.3%	Alaska	2	0.2%
TOTAL	1991, or			1144, or			744, or	

14.5% of National Total of 13,663.
Source: P.S., Summer 1970, Vol. III, Special Issue, pp. 584-585.

17.6% of National Total of 6,493.
Source: Communication to APSA from Milton Levine, Study Director, National Register Group, N.S.F., Dec. 8, 1970.

16.9% of National Total of 4,411.
Source: APSA Survey on the Number of Facu ty (Undergraduate Majors and Graduate Majors) by Department (from APSA Commit on the Status of Women), 1969.

APPENDIX B

ENROLLMENT FOR ADVANCED DEGREES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS FOR WESTERN STATES: NEW DATA

PART I

	First Year Students					Students Beyond the First Year				
	Males	Females	% Female Total	Total Male & Female	% of All Western Grads. Pol. Sc.	Males	Females	% Female Total	Total Male & Female	% of All Western Grads. Pol.Sc.
Alaska	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	0	0	0
Arizona	81	17	17.3	98	6.2	35	4	10.2	39	3.8
*California										
*(Private Schools)	143	26	15.3	169	10.9	219	30	12.0	249	24.2
(State Colleges)	451	139	23.5	590	38.2	-	-	0	0	0
(U.C. System)	189	41	17.8	230	14.8	260	62	19.2	322	31.4
*Colorado	86	31	26.4	117	7.5	85	19	18.2	104	10.1
Hawaii	16	8	33.3	24	1.5	65	4	5.7	69	6.7
*Idaho	4	1	20.0	5	0.3	11	-	0	11	1.0
Montana	12	-	0	12	0.7	1	1	50.0	2	0.1
Nevada	18	7	28.0	25	1.6	-	3	100.0	3	0.2
New Mexico	13	3	18.7	16	1.0	4	2	33.3	6	0.5
Oregon	62	19	23.4	81	5.2	64	11	14.6	75	7.3
Utah	75	9	10.7	84	5.4	53	5	8.6	58	5.6
Washington	71	13	15.4	84	5.4	71	11	13.4	82	8.0
*Wyoming	4	5	55.5	9	0.5	4	1	20.0	5	0.4
Total Number in the West	1225	319		1544	99.2	872	153		1025	99.3
Total Number Nationally	5472	1510		6982		4896	984	5880		
Percentage in the West	22.3% of National	21.1% of National		22.1% of National		17.8% of National	15.5% of National		17.4% of National	
% Female in the West	20.4% of First Year Students					16.9% of Students Beyond the First Year				

*Includes enrollments in International Relations programs.

Source: Marjorie O. Chandler and Mary Evans Hooper, Students Enrolled for Advanced Degrees: Fall 1969 Institutional Data, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970, pp. 232-236.

APPENDIX B
Part II
WESTERN GRADUATE STUDENT ENROLLMENTS:
1969 APSA SURVEY

	Master's Programs				Doctoral Programs					
	Male	Female	Total Male & Female	% Female	Male	Female	Total Male & Female	% Female	Total All Graduate Students	States %
Alaska	-	-	-	0	-	-	0	0	0	0
Arizona	103	19	122	15.5	44	7	51	13.7	173	8.0
California	662	107	769	13.9	408	75	483	15.5	1252	58.6
Colorado	59	17	76	22.3	41	8	49	16.3	125	5.8
Hawaii	43	8	51	15.6	47	2	49	4.0	100	4.6
Idaho	9	-	9	0	11	1	12	8.3	21	0.9
Montana	7	2	9	22.2	0	0	0	0	9	0.4
New Mexico	9	6	15	40.0	0	0	0	0	15	0.7
Nevada	7	4	11	36.3	0	0	0	0	11	0.5
Oregon	41	12	53	22.6	37	4	41	9.7	94	4.4
Utah	137	22	159	13.8	29	3	32	9.3	191	8.9
Washington	45	14	59	23.7	57	9	66	13.6	125	5.8
Wyoming	12	8	20	40.0	0	0	0	0	20	0.9
Total	1134	219	1353	16.1	674	109	783	13.9	2136	99.5

APPENDIX C

PRESTIGE DEPARTMENTS IN WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Quality of Graduate Faculty

School	Rank in Nation
California-Berkeley	3
Stanford	6
U.C.L.A.	12
Oregon	18
Hawaii	In Top 42
U. Washington-Seattle	In Top 42
Claremont	In Top 42
U.S.C.	In Top 42

Effectiveness of Doctoral Program in the West*

School	Rank in Nation
Stanford	6
California-Berkeley	10
Oregon	15
U.C.L.A.	16
Hawaii	In Top 42
U.S.C.	In Top 42

*Only the top 20 were rank ordered. The rest of the top 42 in each category were listed alphabetically.
Source: Roose & Anderson, A Rating of Graduate Programs, 1969, American Council on Education, pp. 64-65.

Political Science Degrees Conferred By Prestige Departments in West, 1968-69

School	Males	Females	% Female
California-Berkeley	15	1	6.3
Stanford	11	0	0.0
U.C.L.A.	5	2	28.6
Oregon	6	2	25.0
Hawaii	1	1	50.0
University of Washington	3	0	0.0
**Claremont	13	0	0.0
**U.S.C.	4	1	20.0

**Includes doctorates in International Relations

Source: Chandler & Hooper, op. cit., Appendix C.

APPENDIX D

WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATE PROGRAM FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

	Total Faculty	Women on the Faculty #	%	Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Asst. Prof.	Inst.	Other	Graduate Women Ph.D. Program	M.A. Program	Total Male & Female Graduates	% Women Graduates
"Prestige Depts.												
U.C.-Berkeley	63	4	6.3	0	1	0	0	3	47	5	273	19.0%
Stanford	22	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	92	10.8
U.C.L.A.**	50	3	6.0	0	0	2	0	1	??	?	?	?
Oregon	20	1	5.0	0	1	0	0	0	4	12	94	17.0
Totals & Average %'s	155	8	5.1	0	2	2	0	4	60	18	459	16.9
Other Universities with Doctoral Programs*												
U. Washington	27	1	3.7	0	0	1	0	0	9	14	125	18.4
U. Hawaii	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	100	10.0
U.S.C.**	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?
Claremont(Calif.)	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	31	230	18.6
U. Arizona	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	14	132	14.3
U. Colorado	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	5	101	12.8
U.C.-Santa Barb.	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	59	18.6
U.C.-Davis	22	1	4.5	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	40	15.0
Arizona State	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	34	17.6
U. Utah	13	1	7.6	0	0	0	1	0	3	9	71	16.9
U.C.-Riverside	13	1	7.6	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	50	8.0
U. Idaho	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	21	4.7
U.C.-Irvine	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	33.3
Totals & Avg. %'s	232	4	1.7	0	0	2	1	1	49	102	966	15.6
California State College Systems with Master's Programs Only*												
San Jose	34	6	17.6	0	1	2	0	3	-	6	65	9.2
San Fernando	34	7	20.5	0	0	5	2	0	-	20	200	10.0
Long Beach	31	3	9.6	0	0	0	0	3	-	9	69	13.0
San Diego	25	1	4.0	0	0	1	0	0	-	8#	53#	15.0
Fullerton	19	5	26.3	0	1	4	0	0	-	10	110	9.0
Totals & Avg. %'s	143	22	15.3	0	2	12	2	3	-	53	497	10.6
Other Public Institutions with Political Science Master's Programs* (Universities of N.M., Nev., Wyo., Mont. & Nor. Ariz.)	48	5	10.4	3	0	1	0	1	-	20	53	37.7
Other Private Institutions with Political Science Master's Programs* (Universities of Denver, Whittier College, College of the Pacific)	23	4	17.3	0	0	3	1	0	-	7	20	35.0

* Responding at APSA 1969 Survey **From latest university catalog
#From U.S. HEW Office of Education, Students Enrolled for Advanced Degrees, 1968-69.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

Katherine M. Klotzburger

Preface

This bibliography is an independent supplement to the Final Report, and other research papers, of the American Political Science Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, which was convened in Spring, 1969 and presented its Final Report to the APSA Executive Council in June, 1970.

The purpose of the bibliography is to introduce social scientists, particularly political scientists, to the literature on the subject of women in a particular occupation--academia. This is not a bibliography of the women's movement or the feminine mystique, although such books as Eleanor Flexner's A Century of Struggle are included as background material. Thus, it is arranged by types of source materials. Most titles are products of the post-World War II period, but that does not necessarily free them from methodological or sex biases.

The bibliography is only a modest compilation of the materials that are relevant to the given topic, although all the titles listed have been consulted and, in my judgment, make a valuable addition to the reader's knowledge about women and understanding of the oppressed status of women in the social sciences. Unfortunately some current materials were excluded because they were not available for review.

It is my hope that this bibliography will be a useful tool to researchers, and encourage the field of political science to become more concerned with the subject of women.

Katherine M. Klotzburger
March, 1971

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